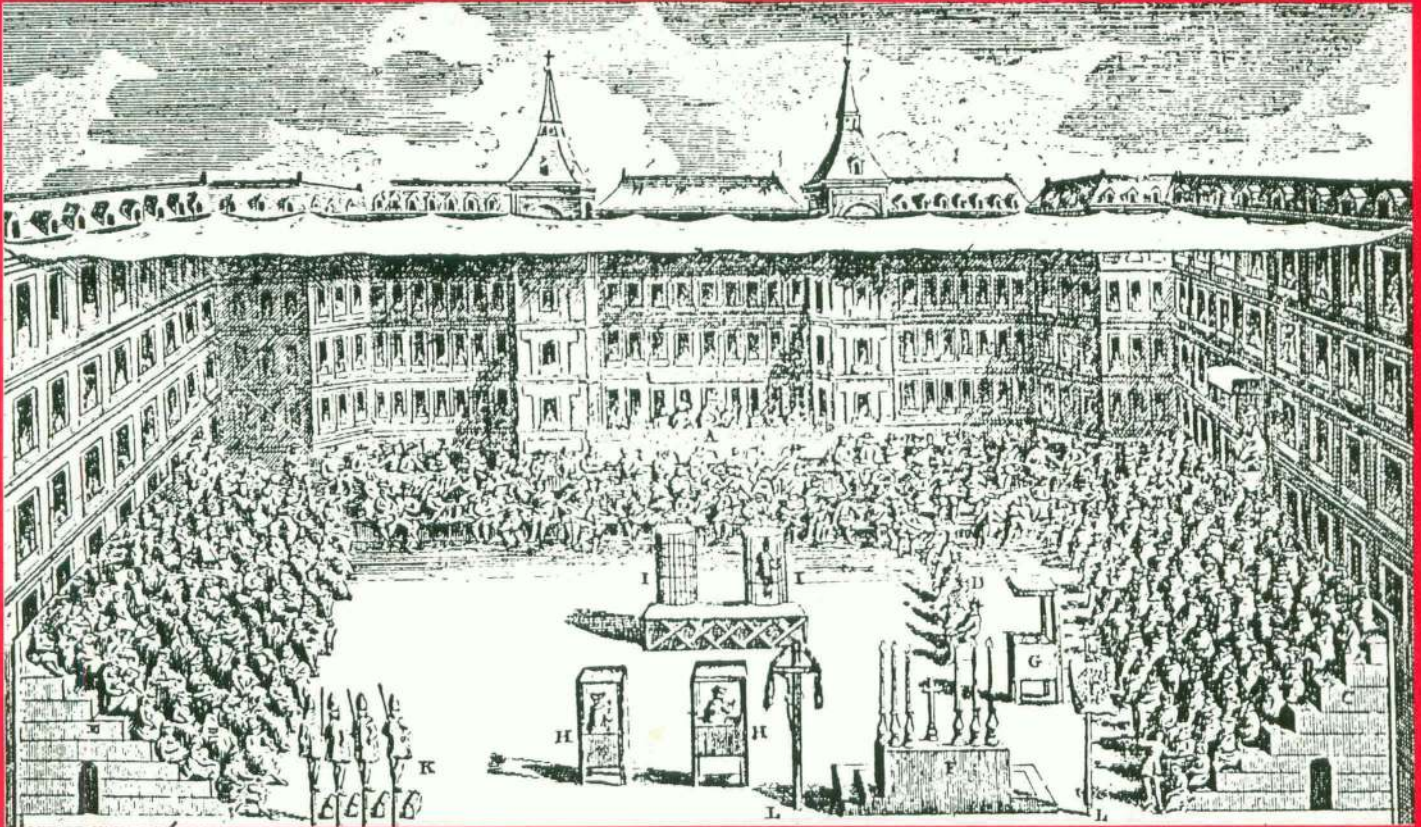


The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 16, Number 1

January / February 1996



— Special Review Essay —

The Spanish Inquisition and the 'Jewish Question'

Brian Chalmers

The Weber-Shermer Holocaust Debate: A Report

Zionism's Violent Legacy

Donald Neff

Canadian Jewish Congress Threat to Free Speech

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The Zionist Terror Network



Background & Operations of the Jewish Defense League and Other Criminal Zionist Groups

Revised and Updated Edition

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Background and Operation
of the Jewish Defense League
and other Criminal Zionist Groups

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The Zionist Terror Network

Prepared and published by Institute for Historical Review

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The 'Jewish Question' in 15th and 16th Century Spain Historian Sustains Spanish Inquisition Myths

The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain, by Benzion Netanyahu. New York: Random House, 1995. Hardcover. 1390 pages. Illustrations. Source notes. Bibliography. Index. \$50.

Reviewed by Brian Chalmers

It is nearly impossible to dig into any chapter of Jewish history without uncovering lessons for our own age. Spain during the 15th and 16th centuries is a particularly striking example. Even today, our view of this period, and particularly of the Spanish Inquisition, colors our attitudes regarding relations between Jews and non-Jews. The Inquisition is considered one of Jewish history's darkest chapters — and one of Christian history's most shameful.

In 1391 intense, pent up anti-Jewish sentiment in Christian Spain erupted with great violence against the country's prosperous, well-established Jewish community. Spanish cities were engulfed in ferocious pogroms that destroyed much property and claimed many lives.

Thus began a century of conflict between Jews and non-Jews that culminated in the mass expulsion of all Jews from Spain in 1492. (Ten years later, the Muslims were likewise driven out.) In their edict of expulsion, issued on March 31, 1492, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella announced their "decision to banish all Jews of both sexes forever from the precincts of Our realm." Ordered, on pain of death, to leave within four months, the Jews were permitted to take their personal belongings, except for gold, silver, coined money, or jewels. Estimates of the number of Jews banished generally range from about 165,000 to 400,000. An estimated 50,000 Jews chose baptism to avoid expulsion. In his diary Christopher Columbus noted: "In the same month in which Their Majesties issued the edict that all Jews should be driven out of the kingdom and its territories, in the same month they gave me the order to undertake with sufficient men my expedition of discovery to the Indies."

Expulsions of Jews and outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence have been features of both European and

non-Western societies over many centuries and under a variety of political and religious regimes. What is noteworthy about these 14th- and 15th-century actions in Spain, however, is that tens of thousands of Jews escaped death or expulsion by converting to Christianity. As a result, by the middle of the 15th century there was a numerically large (perhaps 100,000), and politically and economically significant community of people of Jewish descent in Spain who were, at least outwardly, Christians.

Establishing the Inquisition in Spain

Beginning with a furious anti-Jewish uprising in Toledo in 1449, the hostility of Spain's common people came to be directed against these baptized Jews, who were known as "New Christians," *Conversos*, or, contemptuously, *Marranos* ("pigs"). This new hostility developed in large part because the vast majority of these New Christians were, in the words of Jewish historian Cecil Roth, "Jews in all but name, and Christians in nothing but form,"¹ and in part because the *Conversos*, freed from the legal constraints against "open" Jews, rapidly ascended to the highest ranks of Spanish society and represented a competitive threat to all but the highest levels of "Old (non-Jewish) Christian" society.

In *A History of the Marranos*, Cecil Roth sums up the central problem. "In race, in belief, and largely in practice," the *Conversos* "remained as they had been before the conversion." These New Christians, Roth continues,²

were Christians only in name; observing, in public, a minimum of the new faith while maintaining, in private, a maximum of the old one ... Baptism had done little more than to convert a considerable proportion of the Jews from infidels outside the Church to heretics inside it ... The populace, whose feelings thus became more and more inflamed, could not be expected to appreciate the theological subtleties of the matter. In the *Marranos* it could see only hypocritical Jews, who had lost none of their unpopular characteristics, fighting their way into the highest positions of the state.

Another Jewish historian, Howard Fast, has

Brian Chalmers is the pen name of a Roman Catholic priest who teaches at a major East coast university.

similarly noted:³

The nut of the matter is that most of the converted Jews remained Jews; they accepted baptism, they assumed the trappings of Christianity; and in the seclusion of their families, their homes, and their hearts, most of them did a thing that was then called "Judaizing" ... And not only did they Judaize, but in the feeling of power and security these Marranos had gained, they helped the Jews who had remained Jews, prevented a great deal of persecution, and gained favors for the Jews.

After decades of continuing anti-Converso disturbances, Ferdinand and Isabella, acting with papal approval, established the Spanish Inquisition in 1480. Its task was to combat religious heresy and root out crypto-Jews and crypto-Muslims among the "New Christians." "The introduction of the Inquisition," reports *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, "was largely fostered by the civil power as a means of checking the Jews, whose numbers, wealth and frequent intrigues with the Moors were causing alarm."⁴

Soon this highly centralized authority was carrying out its work under Tomás de Torquemada, the able and energetic Grand Inquisitor who elevated the *auto da fé*, the "act of faith," and the rite of purification by burning alive, into a spectacle at once horrifying and fascinating.

The vast majority of those brought before the Inquisition during its first 20 years of activity were Conversos accused of heresy (secret Judaizing). With the passage of time, this agency grew into a powerful institution for protecting Catholicism and the established order in Spain. (It was abolished in the early 19th century.) It played a major role in successfully persuading Ferdinand and Isabella to expel the remaining unconverted Jews in 1492 on the grounds that they were continuing to interact with the Conversos, and were proselytizing among their former co-religionists.

It should be emphasized that the grim reputation of the Spanish Inquisition is largely undeserved. Its cruelty and arbitrariness have been greatly exaggerated over the centuries, largely as a result of anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish propaganda. The Spanish Inquisition invoked torture and the death penalty only very sparingly, and actually treated heretics more leniently than did other European countries during this period.⁵

Crypto-Jews

Nearly all chroniclers of this chapter of history have agreed that the Christianity of most Conversos was not sincere, and that they secretly remained Jews. In fact, as these and other scholars of Jewish



King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain. Their marriage in 1469 united the provinces of Castile and Aragon. In 1492 their armies took Granada, the last Muslim stronghold in Spain, and unified the country. That same year "their Catholic majesties" banished the Jews from the kingdom. Similarly, the Muslims were driven out or forcibly baptized in 1502. In the decades that followed, Spain amassed great wealth and a vast empire. By the late 1500s it was the world's foremost military and colonial power.

history have pointed out, a common Jewish response to persecution has always been "crypto-Judaism," that is, outwardly adhering to the prevailing social-religious mores and values, while secretly maintaining loyalty to the Jewish nation-religion.

Crypto-Judaism was a phenomenon as early as the fifth century BC, during a Zoroastrian persecution in Persia, and it occurred sporadically in Muslim societies (including Muslim Spain under the Almohades in the 12th century) as well as in Christian societies (including Christian Spain under the Visigoths in the seventh century).⁶ In this century it occurred on a wide scale in Russia during the final decades of Soviet rule.⁷

There is abundant evidence to show that in



Public debates between Christian and Jewish scholars were held throughout the Middle Ages. This contemporary illustration shows a 16th-century "disputation" between rabbis and priests. The Jews are wearing the obligatory distinctive hats.

Spain after 1391, New Christians practiced elaborate deceptions to secretly continue their observance of many of the 613 required Jewish rituals and commandments, including circumcision, Sabbath observance, and burial rites.⁸ Converso parents first told children of their special status around the age of puberty, and Conversos routinely intermarried with other New Christians. For its part, Inquisition investigators developed a long list of practices by which crypto-Jews could be recognized. These included perfunctory participation in Christian rites and performance of Jewish religious rituals.

An important indication that the New Christians remained secret Jews is the fact that many of these Conversos and their descendants openly practiced Judaism after leaving the Iberian peninsula.⁹ Groups of emigrating New Christians established openly Jewish communities in Amsterdam, Hamburg, Bordeaux, Livorno and many other places, and New Christians in Brazil immediately emerged as Jews after the temporary Dutch conquest (1632-1654). Converso families had extensive kinship and mercantile ties with Sephardic (Iberian-Mediterra-

nean origin) Jewish families around the world. Some of these New Christian families secretly preserved their original Jewish names for many generations, and re-adopted them after escaping the reach of the Inquisition.

Vestiges of crypto-Judaism can still be found in Spain, and crypto-Jews never disappeared entirely from Spanish America.¹⁰ Even today there is a group of "Hispanic Catholics" in contemporary New Mexico who continue to marry among themselves and preserve several remnants of Jewish religious practices.¹¹ Well into the 20th century there persisted on Majorca an intermarrying group of descendants of Jews who were recognized as such by the other inhabitants of the island.¹²

New Christians also proved to be very tenacious in neighboring Portugal. The great majority of them descended from Jews who had been expelled from Spain in 1492 after refusing to convert to Christianity.¹³ Though the last secret synagogue was discovered in Lisbon in 1706, communities of crypto-Jews continued to be discovered in the 18th and 19th centuries, and persisted even into the late 20th century.¹⁴

In addition, some of those who escaped the Inquisition lived as crypto-Jews in France beginning in the 15th century and in England in the 16th century, at a time when Jews were officially banned. Some crypto-Jews remained in France even after the edict of expulsion of 1615, although in the 17th century there were complaints that Jews were trading among the French "with no distinguishing marks."¹⁵ Portuguese Marranos living in France changed their pose of Christianity only at the turn of the 18th century.

Some returned to England in the latter part of the 16th century posing as Calvinist refugees; they were expelled in 1609 after an internal quarrel alerted the authorities to their existence. But they gradually returned, this time posing as Catholics, and only removed their disguise after the conclusion of official negotiations under Oliver Cromwell. In Italy, crypto-Jews who were refugees from the Iberian peninsula were also targets of inquisitorial suspicion if they failed to adopt a Jewish identity after arriving there.¹⁶

Sincere Christians?

Among Jewish scholars, deep emotional involvement is seldom far from the surface. Thus, a common reaction of Jewish historians to the phenomenon of Iberian crypto-Judaism has been to accept its reality and portray it in very positive terms. In the preface to the first edition of his work, *A History of the Marranos*, Jewish scholar Cecil Roth wrote admiringly of the "incredible romance" of the story of these secret Jews, referring to "the

submerged life which blossomed out at intervals into such exotic flowers; the unique devotion which could transmit the ancestral ideals unsullied, from generation to generation, despite the Inquisition and its horrors."¹⁷

However, other Jewish historians — including Henry Kamen,¹⁸ Ellis Rivkin,¹⁹ and now, most notably, Benzion Netanyahu — have been troubled by the fact that the generally accepted view of this chapter of history implies that the New Christians were in fact cunning deceivers and hypocrites, and that their behavior thus provides a certain moral justification for the Inquisition. After all, nearly everyone during this period — Christians as well as Jews — regarded heresy as a serious crime worthy of severe punishment. Consequently, and regardless of how strange and even odious such sentiments may seem to the modern mind, the Inquisition was certainly acting within the moral and theological premises of the age.

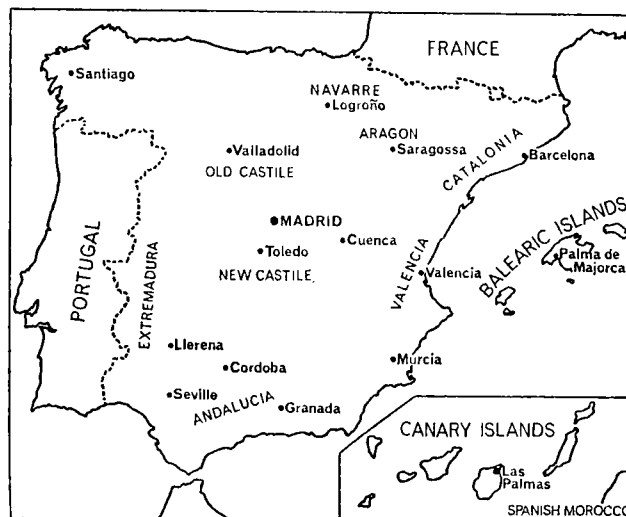
It is this moral dimension that most concerns Netanyahu. In this massive (1385 page) work, he marshals evidence and arguments in an effort to prove that the "New Christians" were sincere adherents of Christianity, and even "ardent assimilationists" who were eager to marry into Christian families and otherwise melt into Spanish society. Consistent with this, Netanyahu seeks to prove that the Inquisitors, as well as the anti-Converso pogromists who preceded them, were immoral, bigoted hypocrites who knew that the Conversos were actually sincere Christians.

In keeping with his thesis, Netanyahu also castigates the Conversos for their supposed lack of Jewish loyalty, effectively writing them off as traitors to Judaism. He unfavorably compares the Conversos to the Jews of medieval Germany, who "far surpassed the Jews of Spain in religious devotion and readiness for martyrdom" (p. 163). From Netanyahu's perspective, these Iberian Jews, rather than convert to Christianity, should have accepted martyrdom like their Ashkenazi co-religionists (in central and northern Europe) at the hands of the marauding Crusaders in 1096.

Racial-Ethnic Hatred?

If the Conversos were really loyal Christians, and if even the Inquisitors believed that these New Christians were sincere in their new faith, Netanyahu asks, what motivated the Inquisition in persecuting them? He believes that the Inquisitors were motivated not by religious zeal but by a passionate racial-ethnic hatred of the Jews — one supposedly similar to that which prevailed in Third Reich Germany.

To this end he points to Spain's introduction of the concept of *limpieza de sangre*, "purity of blood,"



Map of Spain, showing the permanent tribunals of the Spanish Inquisition.

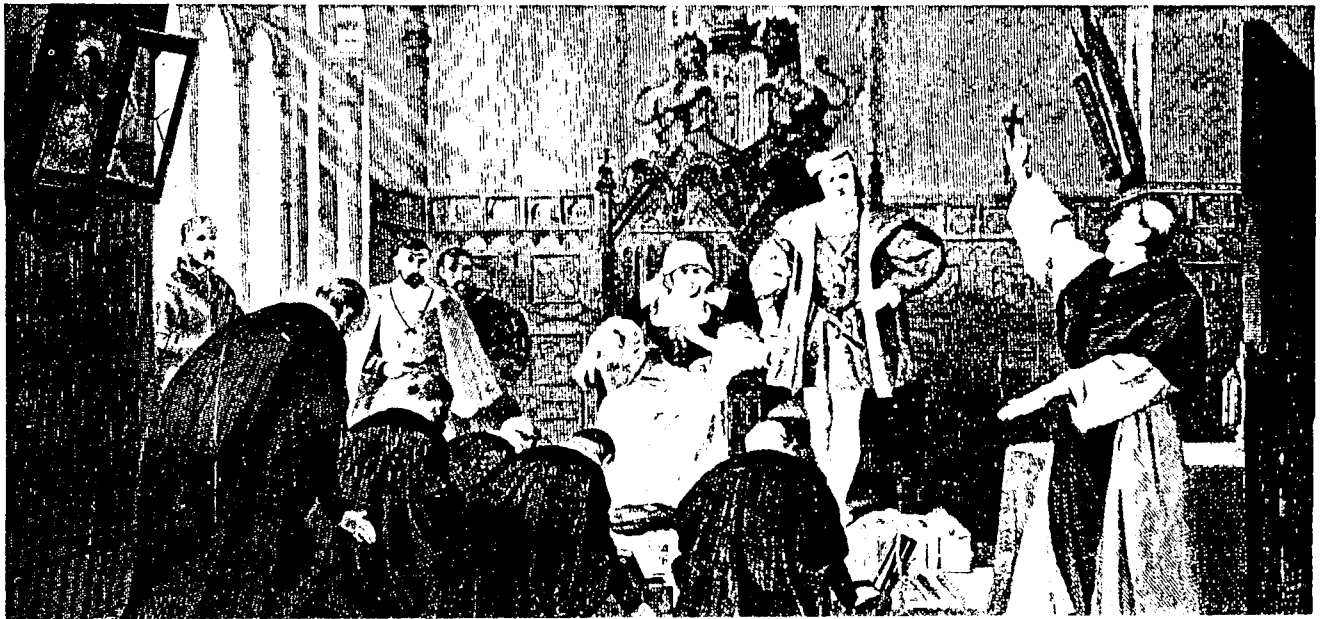
and not mere public profession of faith, as a test of fitness. In city after city, laws were enacted disqualifying people of "impure" (Jewish) blood from entering universities, religious orders and city councils.

Actually, this Spanish "racism" was a response to the ardent ethnic consciousness of the Jews — both open and secret. In his 1954 study, *The Structure of Spanish History*, historian Américo Castro finds that Jewish "racism" long preceded the Spanish concern for *limpieza*.²⁰

The people who really felt the scruple of purity of blood were the Spanish Jews ... The historical reality becomes intelligible to us only when seen to be possessed of both extremes: the exclusivism of Catholic Spain was a reply to the hermeticism of the *aljamas* [Jewish communities] ... purity of blood was the answer of a society animated by anti-Jewish fury to the racial hermeticism of the Jew.

In a society in which religious considerations were paramount, racial or ethnic criteria were not theologically legitimate factors in defining and categorizing social groups. The Inquisition, Netanyahu maintains, acted against a racial-ethnic group under cover of defending Christian faith to attain political-economic goals. The Inquisitors, he argues, cited theologically acceptable criteria to give an appearance of legitimacy to their campaign to oppose and neutralize Converso power. "The Inquisition never revealed its true aims and instead veiled its motives with arguments designed to justify its actions on moral grounds, as well as to give them an air of sanctity" (p. 1085).

If, as Netanyahu contends, the Inquisitors were driven by racial-ethnic hatred of Jews, and not concern about the authenticity of their Christian loy-



After Ferdinand and Isabella issued their edict expelling the Jews from Spain (according to an often-repeated but probably apocryphal story), several prominent Jewish community leaders met with the royal couple to persuade them to revoke the decree. In return they promised to turn over the enormous sum of 30,000 gold ducats. Visibly impressed, the King seemed ready to rescind his decree. At this moment, Inquisitor General Torquemada burst into the hall, held high a crucifix, and said: "Judas Iscariot betrayed Christ for 30 pieces of silver. Will your highness sell him for 30,000 ducats? Here He is, take Him and sell Him." The King then dismissed the Jewish leaders.

ality, how is it that not every Converso investigated by the Inquisition was convicted? Or why would the Inquisitors spare the lives of those who repented and embraced Christianity? Netanyahu himself concedes (p. 1085) that "religious interests ... no doubt motivated some of its [the Inquisition's] leaders." This startling admission, made almost in passing, undermines the author's central thesis about the supposedly racist motivations of the Inquisitors.

Indicting the Conversos

One prominent 15th-century figure who clearly believed in the validity of the charges made against the Conversos was historian Andrés Bernáldez. He charged these secret Jews with religious heresy and with continuing a separate peoplehood (note his use of the term "tribe"). In the following statement, this scholar sums up the popular accusations at the time of the establishment of the Inquisition:²¹

Those people who can avoid baptizing their children, do so, and those who have them baptized wash them off as soon as they return home ... They follow all the judaical ceremonies secretly so far as they can.

The men as well as the women always avoid receiving the sacraments of Holy Church voluntarily. When they confess, they never tell the

truth; and it happened that one confessor asked a person of this tribe to cut off a piece of his garment for him, saying, "Since you have never sinned, I should like to have a bit of your garment for a relic to heal the sick."

... Not without reason did Our Redeemer call them a wicked and adulterous generation. They do not believe that God rewards virginity and chastity. All their endeavor is to increase and multiply. And in the time when this heretical iniquity flourished, many monasteries were violated by their wealthy men and merchants, and many professed nuns were ravished and mocked, some through gifts and some through the lures of panderers, they not believing in or fearing excommunications; but they did it to injure Jesus Christ and the Church. And usually, for the most part, they were usurious people, of many wives and deceits, for they all live by easy occupations and offices, and in buying and selling they have no conscience where Christians are concerned.

Never would they undertake the occupations of tilling the soil or digging or cattle-raising, nor would they teach their children any except holding public offices, and sitting down to earn enough to eat with little labor. Many of them in these realms in a short time acquired

very great fortunes and estates, since they had no conscience in their profits and usuries, saying that they only gained at the expense of their enemies, according to the command of God in the departure of the people of Israel to rob the Egyptians ...

Passion and Bias

Netanyahu makes no effort to hide his passion or his bias. He lives in Israel. He emigrated to Palestine as a child and fought as a member of Ze'ev Jabotinsky's militant Zionist organization. His son Benjamin is the leader of Israel's ultra-nationalist Likud party, and this book is dedicated "with unrelieved grief" to his son Jonathan, who died leading the Israeli raid on Entebbe. It is difficult to avoid the feeling that Benzion Netanyahu's personal devotion to Jewry is essential to this work and its thesis.²²

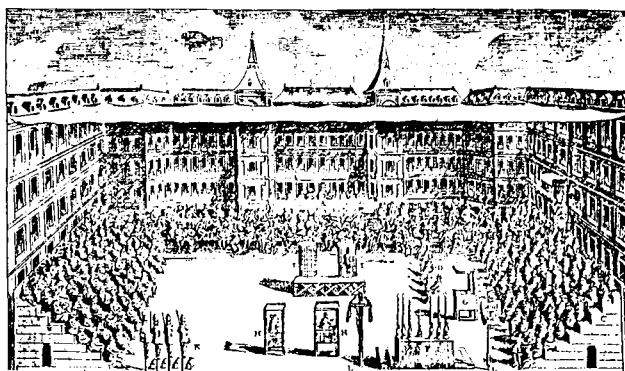
The following quotation (pp. 1085-1086) gives the flavor of Netanyahu's passion for his subject:

As we see it, the "hearts" of the Inquisitors — i.e., their mental constitutions — were incurably perverted by the various influences that shaped their thinking and their tendencies. Apart from the religious interests (which no doubt motivated some of its leaders), these tendencies were expressed by the officials of the Inquisition, down to its lowest functionaries and agents, in a blatant disregard for human life; a fervid desire to flaunt power and exercise control over life and death; a capacity for repression that could crush any spirit; a morbid passion for inflicting torture and causing pain that could break all resistance; and apart from all this, a shameless rapacity designed to render the torturer also the inheritor of his victim's goods.

In Netanyahu's view, these opponents of the New Christians are barely recognizable as human. Predictably, he can't resist comparing the Spanish Inquisitors with the German National Socialists of our own century (p. 1084):

... Like the Spanish antisemites' hatred of the conversos, the German Nazis' hatred of the Jews so affected their thinking, their policies and decisions that all their activities, in virtually all fields, were influenced in varying measure by that hate. Not only did that odium obsess them, but it overflowed their souls to the point where it needed more objects of torture, exploitation and destruction than the Jewish people could possibly provide.

Clearly this is no dispassionate scholar seeking historical truth, but rather an academic zealot bent



This Inquisitional tribunal, meeting in Madrid on June 30, 1680, sentenced 18 Marranos to be burned alive.

on carrying on intellectual warfare, even more than 500 years after the events he discusses. Netanyahu compares Hitler with Spanish king Philip II, each of them with "minds unhinged at least partly by the maddening [anti-Jewish] urges to which we have referred." He continues (pp. 1084-85):

Thus we see how both these developments — the Spanish and the German — which so drastically affected the history of Europe and had their beginnings in those torrents of hate which stemmed from ancient and later anti-semitism, managed to produce anti-social forces which, driven as they were by their fierce animosities, proved almost impossible to restrain.

(In keeping with the currently fashionable spelling of the term, Netanyahu consistently writes of "antisemitism.")

Deceptive Scholarship

Netanyahu's suggestion that Spanish hostility toward Jews was unusual or aberrant is erroneous. Animosity toward Jews was the norm, not the exception, in Europe during this entire period. In England, for example, Jews were entirely banned. (They had been expelled in 1290, and were not legally permitted back until 1656, more than three centuries later.) This era of Jewish expulsion encompassed the Elizabethan period and the nation's golden age of culture, which included Shakespeare and Marlowe (each of whom wrote plays dealing with the "Jewish question"). Jews were similarly driven out of many other European lands: In 1492 they were expelled from Sicily and Sardinia, in 1496 from Portugal, in 1541 from Naples, and in 1596 Pope Pius V expelled the Jews from the Papal territories. From the kingdom of France the Jews were expelled in 1306, and again in 1322 and 1394. Jews were banished from Warsaw in

1483.

Essentially Netanyahu proceeds by ignoring scholarship that conflicts with his ideas — by discounting as untrustworthy and biased any sources from the anti-Converso movement or the Inquisition — while at the same time regarding the work of recognized New Christian apologists such as Fernán Díaz and Cardinal Juan de Torquemada, not to mention rabbinical sources, as based on “fact and logic” (p. 410) and entitled to “the fullest and most careful consideration” (p. 443).²³

This bias can also be found in Netanyahu’s earlier book, *The Marranos of Spain*, which baldly states its intention to question the moral basis of the Inquisition, and takes essentially the same position as the present work regarding the Conversos and the sincerity of their Christianity.²⁴ This earlier work has been subjected to devastating criticism.²⁵

His tendentiousness is so transparent, in fact, that one reviewer of the present work, historian Richard Kagan, could only interpret Netanyahu’s style of historiography as a reaction to the Holocaust.²⁶

Mr. Netanyahu’s expansive, highly personal and emotive style carries us back to another era, to a mode of polemical discourse rarely practiced among professional historians today. More poignantly, this book illustrates the lasting intellectual repercussions of the Holocaust on historical scholarship about the Jews.

The general flavor of Netanyahu’s methodology can be illustrated by his discussion of Cardinal Juan de Torquemada’s writings. Like several other prominent 15th-century figures, Cardinal Torquemada (uncle of Inquisitor General Tomás de Torquemada) was a Converso who rose rapidly in the Church hierarchy and used his position to defend his fellow converts. Netanyahu maintains that Torquemada’s writings exonerating the New Christians should be given great weight even though he acknowledges Torquemada’s apologetic tendencies whenever the Cardinal discusses the relationship between Christianity and the Jewish people. In one case, Netanyahu describes Torquemada’s distortion of the essential spirit of St. Augustine’s writings as

The Spanish Inquisition in Reality and Myth

Much of the sinister reputation of the Spanish Inquisition, promoted even in major motion pictures, is undeserved. Oxford University lecturer Reginald Trevor Davies, a specialist of Spanish history, confirms this in an article published in the 1957 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (vol. 21, pp. 121-122). Explaining how the historical truth has been distorted, he writes:

The Spanish church was wealthy and powerful because the people were intensely religious and because it was largely a national institution in which no foreigner might hold office and in which the crown was supreme ... It was, consequently, a fact of serious political importance that during the anarchy of Henry IV’s reign (1454-75) the Jews gained great power and influence. They might compel — sometimes by means of their usury — their debtors to renounce the Christian religion; and Marranos (baptized Jews) often preserved the old religious faith in secret ...

The familiars of the Inquisition, exercising ceaseless vigilance in the remotest corners of Spain, may be fittingly compared with the justices of the peace who did so much to uphold the throne of Tudor England ...

It cannot be denied that the Inquisition was guilty of abuses and cruelties in the course of its long history, but it was no more unjust or inhumane than most other courts of the Europe of its day. The traditional exaggerations about it were derived from the works of Juan Antonio Llorente (1756-1823), 19th century liberals

and a number of historical novelists and dramatists ...

Llorente’s *Histoire critique de l’inquisition d’Espagne*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1817-18) was widely used by anti-Catholic propagandists and translated into several languages. The author’s life was such that his work may well be supposed to be extremely tendentious; he wrote to please those who happened to be in power. He used many documents taken from the archives of the Inquisition but carefully selected them to support the case he wished to advocate.

Edward Peters, Professor of Medieval History at the University of Pennsylvania, has detailed the development and impact of the Inquisition as historical myth. In his book *Inquisition*, published in 1988 by the Free Press (pp. 1, 2, 231, 263, 308) he writes:

Between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries in western Europe, the Latin Christian Church adapted certain elements of Roman legal procedure and charged papally appointed clergy to employ them in order to preserve orthodox religious beliefs from the attacks of heretics ... Between the sixteenth and the twentieth centuries ... these procedures, personnel and institutions were transformed by polemic and fiction into myth, the myth of *The Inquisition*. The institutions and the myth lived — and developed — in western Europe and the New World until the early

part of a programmatic tendency to reject or ignore traditional Christian perspectives in which the Jews are portrayed as damned for their rejection of God.

By engaging in such deceptive scholarship, writes Netanyahu (p. 464), Cardinal Torquemada was able to project

an image of the Jewish people that was quite opposed to the Christian view. Obviously, no better way could be found to attain this than to let Augustine speak in his behalf — that is, to quote those passages of his works in which the Jews, regardless of what Augustine was driving at, emerge as a people whose religious history and achievements evoked the astonishment and awe of the great saint and, indeed, cannot fail to excite the admiration of anyone who has a sense for the wondrous and divine.

In trying to show that the Jews are assured salvation, adds Netanyahu (pp. 466, 467), Torquemada “had to resort to strenuous maneuvering to make

nineteenth century, when most of the inquisitions were abolished, and the myth itself was universalized ...

Although the inquisitions disappeared, *The Inquisition* did not. The myth was originally devised to serve variously the political purposes of a number of early modern political regimes, as well as Protestant Reformers, proponents of religious and civil toleration, philosophical enemies of the civil power of organized religions, and progressive modernists; but the myth remained durable, widely adaptable, and useful, so that in time it came to be woven tightly into the fabric of modern consciousness. So tight is its place in that weave that the myth has been revived in the twentieth century ...

Some myths are tougher and more durable than the occasions which first create and employ them. *The Inquisition* [as myth] was an invention of the religious disputes and political conflicts of the sixteenth century. It was adapted to the causes of religious toleration and philosophical and political enlightenment in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In this process, although it was always anti-Catholic and usually anti-Spanish, it tended to become universalized, until, by the end of the eighteenth century, it had become the representative of all repressive religions that opposed freedom of conscience, political liberty and philosophical enlightenment.

In the United States, far more than in Europe, *The Inquisition* remained an evil abstraction, sustained by anti-Catholicism and supported by political opposition.

the points he thought vital for his case.” Netanyahu also concedes that “this kind of manipulation of sources violates modern scholarly norms, and even a medieval critical reader might question its propriety.”

Netanyahu shows how Torquemada drastically distorts his sources to produce a deceitfully positive portrayal of Jews. At the same time, though, Netanyahu urges us to accept at face value Torquemada’s claim that the vast majority of the Conversos were entirely sincere in their devotion to Christianity.

A Tradition of Biased Scholarship

As already noted, Prof. Kagan attributes Netanyahu’s passion for polemics to the trauma of the Holocaust tragedy suffered by Jews during the Second World War. Actually, there is a very long tradition of Jewish scholarship that deliberately distorts the historical record to further Jewish group interests. Not only does Netanyahu carry on this tradition of slanted scholarship in his own work, he also exonerates the New Christian historians who systematically did the same.

For example, one Converso historian went to great lengths to remove explicit references to tax collectors as “infidels and heretics” because contemporary readers would identify them as New Christians. “That this was the sole intent,” writes Netanyahu, “and that he was ready to go to any length to fulfill it by altering, mutilating and abbreviating the original, and also by deleting whole passages ... is evident from his whole revision of the manuscript and the careful thought he gave to every expression that might cast a shadow of disrepute on the conversos” (p. 635).

Netanyahu regards such distortion of the historical record as morally and intellectually justified (pp. 660-661):

Their “falsification” of the records could appear to them, in their overall considerations, as the presentation of the *inner* truth of history, while the fuller and ostensibly truthful presentation could be judged by them as leading to misunderstandings and hence to distortion of the basic facts ... Obviously such a form of revision would involve a flagrant distortion of the truth. But historical truth was less important in their eyes than the consequences it entailed for the welfare of their group.

In other words, a truthful account would have described in detail the charges of heresy made by the Old Christians against the New Christians. But such an account might lead Old Christians to believe that the charges were true, and, because this awareness would have had undesirable consequences, the New Christian chroniclers were justi-

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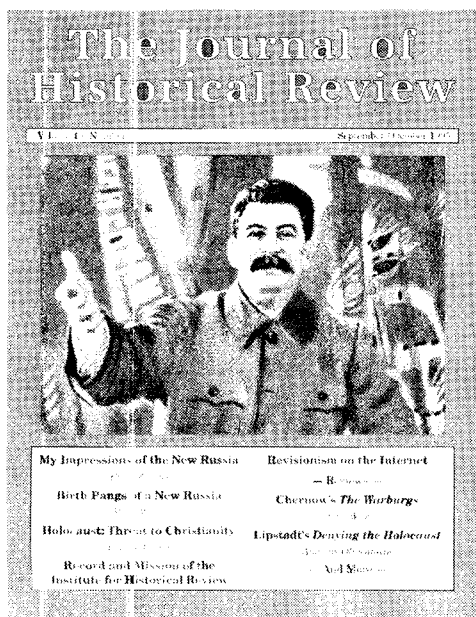
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fied in their deception. Moreover, writes Netanyahu, such New Christian historians were justified in their distortion of the record because they “believed [not only] that the Marranos, or their overwhelming majority, were free from the execrable crime of heresy, but [also] that their accusers, too were well aware of this” (p. 660).

Both these claims are doubtful. Minimally, the proposal that the Old Christians did not believe their own charges is highly unlikely, given the human tendency to assume the worst about one’s perceived enemies. For Netanyahu, however, putting group interests above truth is itself an acceptable standard of veracity for these New Christian historians. So justifiable does Netanyahu find such deception that one can only suppose that he applies this same standard in his own work.

Historical Evidence Ignored

Like the 15th-century chroniclers who falsified their work by omitting crucial details, Netanyahu does not mention recent scholarship indicating that the New Christians were a religiously diverse group that included a substantial percentage of crypto-Jews.²⁷ In a critical review of Netanyahu’s book, professor David Berger of Brooklyn College writes: “It is hardly an exaggeration to say that an entire generation of recent scholarship goes unrepresented here.”²⁸ Berger goes on to write that “this book is marked by a degree of confidence unjustified by the nature of the sources,” and that the author engages in a “reconstruction of motives and intentions based on slim evidence.”

Perhaps most egregiously, Netanyahu places no weight on the fact that over the long life of the Inquisition many New Christians (re-)assumed overt Jewish identities after they emigrated from Spain. Historian Howard Fast writes admiringly:²⁹

During the next two hundred years, the boldest, the toughest, and the most sensitive of the Marranos left Spain. They left family by family, some openly, some secretly, but in almost every case, these Marranos, some of whose families had been outwardly Christian for several hundred years, underwent circumcision and returned to the Jewish fold the moment they were out of the Inquisition’s power.

When Netanyahu does mention this phenomenon, his main point is to assert that it was unreasonable for 15th-century Spaniards to infer that the Converso relatives (in Spain) of crypto-Jews who had assumed overtly Jewish identities after emigration were themselves crypto-Jews (p. 945). Netanyahu holds 15th-century Spaniards to a very high standard of proof indeed!

In this same passage (p. 945), Netanyahu states

that it is “hardly surprising” that emigrating New Christians assumed overt Jewish identities, given the hostility they had experienced in Spain. But if this hostility was so intense that it motivated emigrating New Christians to openly proclaim Judaism after leaving the country, it is only reasonable to suppose that this same fervent hostility would motivate those who remained in Spain to be crypto-Jews, rather than sincerely embrace the Christian faith. How can Netanyahu logically suppose that the New Christians who remained in Spain were any more sincere in their Christianity than their emigrating brethren?

A Distinct Nationality

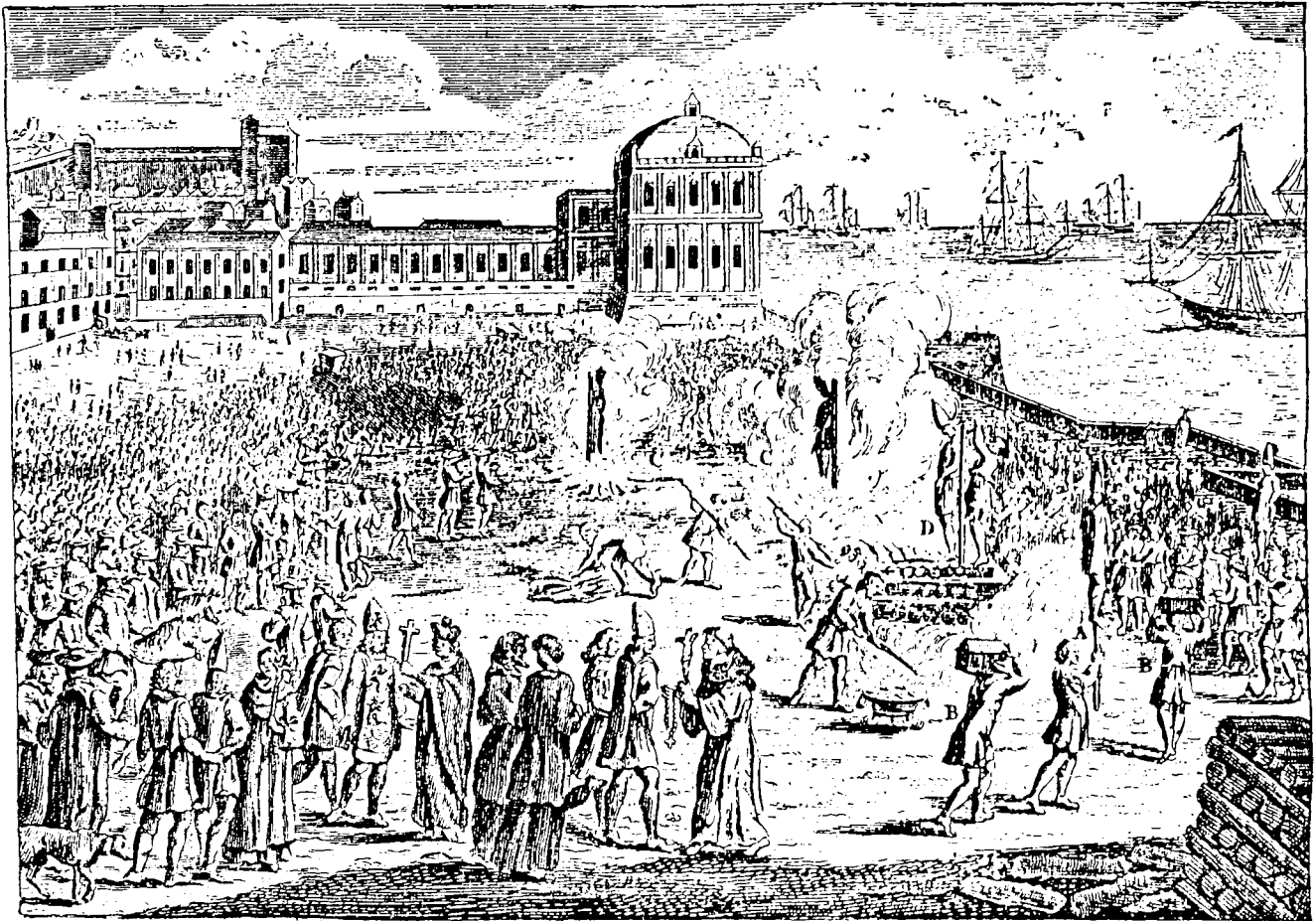
A critical point here is that Netanyahu attaches no moral importance to a key fact about 15th-century Spain — that the New Christians, whatever their religious beliefs, constituted a highly successful and even dominating group within Spanish society. All scholars of the period, including Netanyahu, agree that the New Christians remained throughout a clearly distinguishable group, one with high levels of within-group cooperation and patronage, and quite self-aware of its particular status. This “groupness” of the Conversos was independent of whether they secretly regarded themselves as Jews.

Netanyahu deserves praise for providing massive detail about both the group cohesiveness of the New Christians as well as for showing the economic and social roots of the animosity of the Old Christians. In this regard he is well within the mainstream of historical research. Throughout the period of the Inquisition, both in the Iberian peninsula and the New World, the New Christians were organized as a set of intermarrying and interlocking family clans characterized by high levels of within-group cooperation and patronage in pursuit of economic and political goals.³⁰

Netanyahu’s description of the “peoplehood” of the New Christians is quite accurate and bears quoting at length (pp. 993-994, 995, 996):

Yet while the convert abandoned his people, his peoplehood did not abandon him. It was reflected in many of his characteristics, the product of numerous factors — ethnic, social, environmental and educational — that had influenced Jewish life for centuries. These were essentially *Jewish* characteristics; and although assimilation had somewhat dimmed them, they could still be discerned in the Jewish convert even decades after his conversion.

... When masses of Jews were converted at the same time, each of them saw himself *within his people* and by no means as one who had forsaken it. In Spain, where these converts or their great majority lived for many years in



A public burning of heretics sentenced by the Inquisition is portrayed in this 18th-century print.

boroughs of their own, this feeling of communion was kept alive as long as the process of assimilation had not destroyed, or seriously affected, the collective fabric.

Also many characteristics of the Jew and his life-style, which even isolated converts retained for many years, were guarded for much larger periods in the converso communities. As a result, the converso could still be recognized — even several generations after his ancestors' conversion — by his Jewish appearance, his habits and mannerisms, his attitudes and reactions, as well as his views on a variety of issues. In consequence, in the middle of the 15th century (and no doubt in many cases even later) the great majority of the New Christians in Spain had not yet shaken off the shadow of their past; and the result of this fact was the consciousness of their "otherness" that determined the attitude of their neighbors ...

The Marranos were viewed as a distinct *nationality* which, in more ways than one, was related to the Jews. Indeed, not only did their enemies so regard them, but also their friends

among the Old Christians; and, what is more, they were so regarded by the Marranos themselves ...

As a "nation apart," despite their conversion, as a nation united by common origin or race, the Marranos were thus exposed to the evaluation of their group as an *alien national entity*, whose fellowships with the *people of the country* must be questioned, and whose preparedness to betray it could be taken as likely even by moderate adversaries. [italics in text]

Beyond this very clear realization that the New Christians retained their sense of peoplehood and ethnicity, as well their sense of constituting a separate group within Spanish society, Netanyahu does not deny that there was a hard core of self-consciously crypto-Jews among the New Christians prior to the Inquisition. "That there were some Jewish pockets among the Marranos in the sixties [1460s], and probably in the seventies too, may be taken for granted," he writes. (p. 931). Indeed, another point of unanimity among the 15th-century New Christian apologists and their opponents is the

acknowledgment that at least some among the Conversos had retained Jewish religious beliefs (p. 625).

Given the prevailing outlook of the period, and the hostile nature of inter-group relations, the realization that some Conversos were really crypto-Jews could well be expected to bring sanctions against the entire group of Conversos — especially because, while it was known that at least some were deceivers, it was very difficult to determine what people believed in their hearts.

Netanyahu's moral censure of the Inquisitors is based on an individualistic moral sense that was entirely foreign to the sensibility not only of corporate Medieval society but even more to traditional Judaism. New Christians perceived themselves and were perceived by others as members of an alien and detested group within Spanish society. As one might expect, Spaniards tended to "assume the worst" about them, especially when it was well known that, among other things, emigrating New Christians rapidly assumed overt Jewish identities in other lands.

Economic and Political Power

Netanyahu has done a service in identifying the social, economic and political sources of inter-group conflict that were critical in the establishment of the Inquisition. "Indubitably," he acknowledges, "the factor that first put much strain on the relations between the Old Christians and the New was the growth of converso economic power" (p. 1044)

He also provides considerable detail on the extent of Converso economic and political domination of Spain's traditional Christians. In so doing Netanyahu goes a long way toward showing why, apart from any question of religious heresy, the Conversos were so widely hated by the non-noble classes or estates. Conversos emerged as a dominant force in the areas of finance, commerce, international trade, law, diplomacy, and all levels of public administration. Wealthy Conversos purchased and endowed ecclesiastical benefices for their children with the result that many members of the high clergy were of Jewish descent. And high level New Christian officeholders (such as Fernán Díaz, secretary to King Juan II) appointed fellow Conversos to positions throughout the government bureaucracy.

In his 1932 study, *A History of the Marranos*, Cecil Roth summed up the incredible situation in forthright language that would scarcely be permitted today:³¹

The Law, the administration, the army, the universities, the Church itself, were all over-run by recent converts of more or less questionable sincerity, or by their immediate descendents. They thronged the financial

administration, for which they had a natural aptitude, protest now being impossible. They pushed their way into the municipal councils, into the legislatures, into the judiciary. They all but dominated Spanish life.

Powerful Middlemen

At the heart of the conflict between Old and New Christians was the familiar tendency of the non-Jewish ruling elite to utilize Jews to further their interests at the expense of the non-elite members of society, that is, of the great mass of the Spanish people. Beginning in the Greco-Roman and Persian world of antiquity and extending into the post World War II era of Soviet domination of Eastern Europe, Jews have often served as middlemen between oppressive ruling elites (especially those of alien origin), and native populations. A significant source of animosity toward the Jews in Christian Spain was the widespread belief that the Jews had aided the Muslim invasion of Spain in the eighth century, and in the ensuing centuries had served the Muslims as loyal administrators over the subject Christian population. (Modern scholars, including Netanyahu [p. 57], accept that this belief is based in fact.)

Jews were typically recruited for this status because they were known to have no strong loyalty to the native people or culture. Ruling elites knew that Jewish loyalty to the regime derived from their status as dependent aliens. In Spain, there was a long history of kings patronizing the Jewish community in return for Jewish loyalty as administrators and tax farmers, and in the 15th century these functions were assumed by the New Christians. (In return for payment of a fixed sum of money, determined through bidding, the king commissioned the highest bidder as a tax farmer, granting him the exclusive right to amass as much money as he could collect through taxes levied on the people of a given district.)

As in many other traditional societies, the Jews' alien or outgroup status with regard to the rest of society, and their loyalty to the king (rather than to the people or nation) made them ideal tax farmers. Rulers knew that because the Jews (or, after 1391 in Spain, the Conversos) had no loyalty to the native people, they could be trusted to treat the non-Jewish subjects as an outgroup, and would thereby maximize the king's revenues. (By contrast, to employ non-Jews as tax collectors would be disadvantageous, because their identification with the native population would make them less likely to wring out the maximum amount in taxes.)

"Tax collection remained largely in Jewish hands until the end of the Jewish sojourn in Spain," writes Netanyahu. He continues (pp. 71-72):

It was primarily because of the functions of the Jews as the king's revenue gatherers in the urban areas that the cities saw the Jews as the monarch's agents, who treated the common people as objects of massive exploitation. By serving as they did the interests of the kings, the Jews seemed to be working against the interests of the cities; and thus we touch again on the phenomenon we have referred to: the fundamental conflict between the kings and their people — a conflict not limited to financial matters, but one that embraced all spheres of government that had a bearing on the people's life.

It was in part thanks to this conflict of interests that the Jews could survive the harsh climate of the Middle Ages, and it is hard to believe that they did not discern it when they came to resettle in Christian Europe. Indeed, their requests, since the days of the Carolingians, for assurances of protection before they settled in a place show (a) that they realized that the kings' positions on many issues differed from those of the common people and (b) that the kings were prepared, for the sake of *their* interests, to make common cause with the "alien" Jews against the clear wishes of their Christian subjects. In a sense, therefore, the Jews' agreements with the kings in the Middle Ages resembled the understandings they had reached with foreign conquerors in the ancient world.

As Netanyahu notes, Jews were well aware of their role as intermediaries between conflicting segments of gentile society (rulers and subjects). There is no question that as a result of their special relationship with the king, Jews were often viewed as exploiters by the common people. The Petition of 1449 by the rebels of Toledo accused the New Christian tax gatherers of having "caused the [economic] ruin ... of many noble proprietresses (*dueñas*, *caballeros*, and *hijos-dalgo*)" and of having "oppressed, destroyed, robbed and depraved ... most of the old houses and estates of the Old Christians" (p. 959). "Throughout the country," historian Cecil Roth has noted, "they [the Conversos] farmed the taxes. Thus, they inevitably became identified in the popular mind with the royal oppression."³²

An Alliance of Oppression

Netanyahu provides considerable detailed evidence showing that during the 15th century the kings of Spain utilized the New Christians in this very traditional manner as a highly competent intermediary group between themselves and the great mass of Christian subjects. Alvaro de Luna, King Juan II's chief minister, advanced the fortunes

of both Jews and New Christians as a force loyal to the monarchy in its struggles with the nobility, and in preference to the non-Jewish urban aristocracy. New Christians were even more valuable than Jews because, as nominal Christians, they gave a sort of theoretical legitimacy to activities such as tax farming that was lacking when Jews performed these functions (Netanyahu, pp. 217ff).

Conversion therefore put a new twist to the traditional Jewish role as an alien, exploitative middleman. A 15th-century satirist depicts an Old Christian lamenting that the New Christians, because of their ostensible conversion, had become "legitimate" and were now entitled to use their "manipulations, chicaneries, subtleties and deceits, without fear of God and shame of the people" (p. 513). Conversion had not changed the cohesiveness or group status of the "Hebrew race," nor their eagerness to exploit the Old Christian population — but merely by changing their surface religion, their much-resented behavior toward the Old Christians had now become permissible, at least from a Christian theological perspective.

Spaniards understandably continued to regard the Jewish "New Christians" as a cohesive group that very successfully exploited the traditional (Old) Christian population. In spite of conversion, this group persisted in many of the same oppressive activities that had provoked anti-Jewish hatred prior to their conversion, especially tax farming and collaborating with the king against the interests of the people.

For all his biased interpretation of sources, the facts presented by Netanyahu are consistent with the following overall scenario: The Conversos remained a separate, unassimilated "nation apart" within Spanish society well into the 15th century, and indeed through the height of the Inquisition period, and even into the 18th century. Freed from the traditional economic and social constraints placed on Jews, this self-aware ethnic-cultural group rose quickly to a position of dominance, and was correctly perceived by the mass of people (Old Christians) as an alien, exploitative enclave.

It is this fundamentally unhealthy situation that ultimately led to the Inquisition. Indeed, it is this general condition (which of course has varied in particulars from country to country and from age to age), that has provoked hostility toward Jews throughout history.

Conflict Between Rulers and Subjects

In Spain, periods of close Jewish ties to the monarch and the country's ruling elite were characterized by exploitation of the common people by the rulers, and alienation between the monarch and his subjects. Given the generally hostile relationship



This fanciful English illustration purports to show an Inquisition torture chamber. Contrary to popular belief, inquisitors actually employed torture only on rare occasions.

between Jews and non-Jews in Spanish society, it is not surprising that changes of government or periods of royal weakness often resulted in anti-Jewish pogroms, especially in the century prior to the establishment of the Inquisition.

As Netanyahu shows, the closer the alliance between the King and the Conversos, the greater the hostility toward the King among the people. Fray Alonso de Espina, a Franciscan friar who was instrumental in establishing the Inquisition, not only hated the Conversos, he also condemned the rulers who had betrayed their people. Quoting Espina, Netanyahu writes (p. 731) that he sharply criticized the

“detested avarice of the Christian princes” and “the temporal gains which they get from the Jews” that brings them to let the Jewish crimes go unpunished. It is their excessive converse with the Jews, and the numerous gifts they receive from them, that lead them to permit the “ravenous wolves” who have entered the “flock” of God to continue their ravages without

opposition.

Espina praised the rulers of England and France for their wisdom and concern for the good of their nations in expelling the Jews from their realms. He had particular praise for French King Philip II (Augustus) as a ruler who “burned with the zeal of God” when, in the year 1182, he despoiled the Jews of his country and expelled them, in spite of pleas from the nobility and prelates, and offers of bribes from the Jews. (p. 831).

A Double Standard

Netanyahu is exquisitely sensitive to the “immorality” of the Old Christians when or if they exaggerated a lack of religious sincerity among the Conversos. Similarly, he condemns the Inquisition for its “blatant disregard for human life ... [its] desire to flaunt power and exercise control over life and death ... [and its] shameless rapacity” (pp. 1085-1086).

But Netanyahu’s moral sense is one-sided. He implicitly suggests that the Spaniards should have

been unconcerned that they were being dominated and exploited by an alien group, and that their aristocracy, and indeed the entire upper classes, were fast becoming "New Christian." In Netanyahu's view, the Spaniards should have acknowledged their inferiority and humbly acquiesced in their own economic, social and political domination by an outgroup dedicated to its own interests. The astonishing notion that a people is morally obligated to passively accept its own eclipse and domination is certainly not likely to appeal to sincere advocates of social justice, whatever their ideology. Such a "morality" is unlikely to win approval by any subjugated nation.

Netanyahu seems incapable of seeing the self-centered and even hypocritical nature of this interpretation of history, apparently because he views morality through strictly Jewish-Zionist eyes. While accepting the view that Jews constitute a distinct national-religious group, and that the Jewish people-nation can and should compete with non-Jewish nations for resources and power, he condemns as immoral the efforts by non-Jews to resist or counter Jewish domination. Institutions developed by non-Jews to protect and further their own group interests — such as the Inquisition — are predictably seen by Netanyahu (as well as by other similarly motivated historians) as the height of immorality.

In Netanyahu's view, efforts by non-Jews to increase their own power and position at the expense of Jews are inherently immoral, and are ascribed to motives of envy, jealousy and racism. (Netanyahu repeatedly calls the Inquisitors and the anti-Converso pogromists "racists.") On the other hand, he sees nothing wrong or immoral about the efforts by Jews throughout history to take and maintain economic, social and political power, often with great success, at the expense of others. Thus he portrays the motives of the Conversos as entirely natural human strivings for money, political power and social status. Consistent with this, he regards tax farming as a morally neutral activity that was a necessary part of the machinery of government in the Middle Ages.

Effective Strategies

In spite of the author's intellectual dishonesty and ethical bankruptcy, this book is worthwhile. In addition to a careful chronicling of the close relationships between Spanish kings and their Converso subjects, and a detailed summary of the social and political sources of animosity toward the Conversos, it provides a wealth of information on the intellectual, social, and political battles between Spaniards and Conversos in the 15th century. Netanyahu also presents a valuable and interesting

account of the multifaceted strategies used by the Conversos to attain their social and political goals — strategies that presage many of the techniques Jews have used in modern societies to combat anti-Semitism and further their interests.

While attention has already been drawn to some of the activities of 15th-century New Christian intellectual apologists, this scarcely begins to tell the whole story. During the Inquisition period, Jewish emigrants from Spain and Portugal produced a large body of polemical, apologetic literature meant to refute Christianity and bolster the resolve of the crypto-Jews who remained on the Iberian peninsula.³³

In addition, Netanyahu shows that even prior to the Inquisition, New Christian intellectuals such as Fernán Díaz, Cardinal Juan de Torquemada, and Alonso de Cartagena emerged to defend the supposedly sincere Christian orthodoxy of the New Christians, to refute the arguments of the Conversos' enemies, and to develop novel theological arguments that portrayed the Jews, both in Old Testament and modern times, in a positive light. To do so, these writers had to counter a very large body of Christian writing that depicted Jews in a searingly negative light. Their success in this task impressively illustrates the ability of Jewish intellectuals throughout the ages to fashion effective strategies, conforming to the currently prevailing *zeitgeist*, in defense of Jewish (or, in this case, New Christian) interests.

Clever Justifications

It is noteworthy that within this entire body of pro-Converso writing, Jews are regarded as a distinct ethnic-racial group. The writings of the Converso Bishop Alonso de Cartagena, for example, viewed Jews as a group that was "united by a blood relationship whose origins went back to Abraham" (Netanyahu, p. 530). Cartagena argued that God chose Abraham to be the progenitor of the people that would be dedicated to His service, and because of their special role as the carnal progenitors of Christ, they had to remain separate from other peoples and occupy an elevated moral status compared to other humans: "Not only was the Jewish people raised to the status of nobility in mankind ... it was also allotted the status of holiness" (p. 533).

In a twist on the traditional Jewish view of themselves as a special, "chosen" people, Conversos portrayed themselves as constituting a kind of closed religious order made up of morally superior individuals distinguished by a superior biological heritage — a group therefore worthy of being the progenitors of Christ. Consistent with this view, the conversion of the Jews to Christianity was really no conversion at all, because it merely represented a

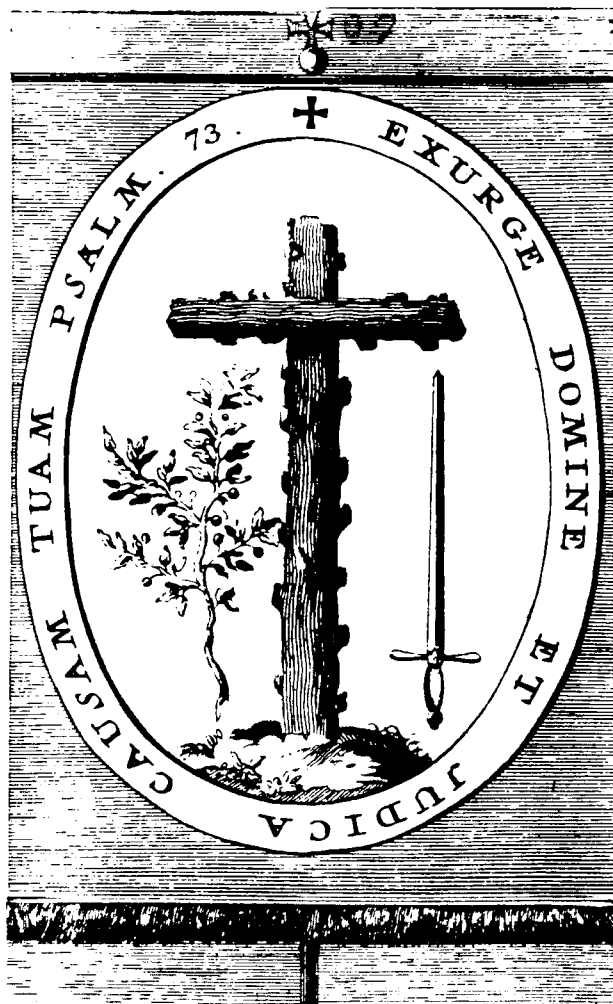
higher fulfillment of their great and predestined historical role. Converso intellectuals developed this fantastic argument to refute charges by their enemies that baptized Jews would be unable to accommodate themselves to Christian teachings.³⁴

A remarkable aspect of New Christian apologies, and their intellectual defenses generally, is that they were crafted in such a manner that the Conversos could view and portray themselves as remaining loyal to their (Jewish) peoplehood and (Mosaic) law. (pp. 936-937). By superficially becoming Christians while at the same time retaining their ethnic identity and sense of peoplehood, they provided a bridge between "ethnic Israel" and "spiritual Israel." Alonso de Cartagena argued that Christianity could serve as a viable ideology in which New Christians could preserve their ethnic group cohesiveness and solidarity in precisely the same manner as Jews had always done. What we have here, in short, is a novel ideology of superficial Christianity that served to rationalize the continuity of Jewish group identity and cohesiveness among the New Christians.

Cartagena correctly saw that Christianity does not ultimately recognize races at all because, at the theoretical or spiritual level, it fosters the unification of all humanity. And he proposed that eventually there would be complete intermingling of races and nations (a notion, I suggest, that served much the same function in his writing as the "withering away of the state" does in classical Marxist political theory).

While anticipating the eventual emergence of a society free from ethnic distinctions, Cartagena contended that because ethnic divisions would persist into the foreseeable future, and because they have no legitimate place in Christian theology, we should do our best to *ignore* them. Thus he did not advocate a program to encourage intermarriage, nor did he condemn the New Christians for their continued group consciousness, their political and economic inter-group cooperation, their consciousness of common descent, or their pride in their Jewish ancestry. Instead, Cartagena attempted to change the traditional outlook and social behavior of non-Jewish Spaniards by urging them to view both themselves and the New Christians as members of one people — even though these different groups were not only disunited but in fact were actively engaged in grim and sometimes violent conflict.

Cartagena's message was that the continuation of the New Christians as an unassimilated, segregated group within Spanish society should be irrelevant from a Christian moral and theological perspective. He even proposed that the categories of New Christian and Old Christian be abandoned altogether, on the theory that eliminating such distinctions would lessen hostility by Old Christians



The emblem of the Inquisition: Along with the Christian cross and symbols of mercy (left) and justice (right), is the Inquisition's motto, "Arise, Oh Lord, and judge thine own cause."

toward New Christians. At the same time, though, Cartagena argued that New Christians should be allowed to maintain their own strong sense of superior group consciousness.

The implication is that the New Christians can and should continue to retain their group integrity and even their ethnic uniqueness in order to preserve their distinguished lineage. However, the rest of Christian society ought to view such behavior as theoretically irrelevant and cease even categorizing individuals as New Christians because such racialist thinking is contrary to Christian theology and morality. In other words, Cartagena urged non-Jewish Spaniards to abandon their own sense of group self-awareness, while urging baptized Jews to retain their separate group identity.³⁵

Waging Intellectual Warfare

A striking feature of the struggle over the New Christians in 15th-century Spain was that their defenders were intellectually far more sophisticated than their opponents. Collectively they dominated the literature of the period. (This has often been true in other eras as well, such as during the Dreyfus affair in 19th century France, and in the United States today.)³⁶

Netanyahu details the distinguished intellectual and political accomplishments of Torquemada and Cartagena prior to their apologetic work, and points out that Díaz was the second or third most powerful official in the government of Castile. Their arguments were presented in a highly literate, scholarly style that commanded respect from educated readers. Moreover, these writers showed great skill in developing intricate, tortured arguments to offset the long-standing anti-Jewish bias inherent in Christian theology. Similar comments could be made about a very large body of pro-Jewish literature directed at non-Jews in more recent historical eras, including our own. Indeed, a good example is Netanyahu's book.

The result of all this intellectual activity was a stunning, if temporary, victory. Writes Netanyahu (p. 658):

The Marranos were faced with a campaign of vilification which clearly threatened their existence in Spain, and they were inevitably looking for the best method to quash that campaign, or reduce its effectiveness. As long as Toledo was the headquarters and center of the rebels' anti-Marrano agitation, the Marranos met the violent diatribes ... with a counterattack that soon put their enemies on the defensive. Determined to fight fire with fire, the Marranos placed in the forefront of their battle-line the strongest and ablest men they possessed — Torquemada, Cartagena, the Relator [Fernán Díaz], and others; they enlisted in their support men of courage and brilliance, such as Lope de Barrientos and Alonso de Montalvo ...

They built a massive public opinion that was so adverse to Sarmiento [a leader of the anti-Converso revolt] and his followers that the latter came to be regarded as outlaws, not only politically, but also morally and religiously. Within one year after the Toledan outbreak, the Marranos saw their foes in retreat; the Pope had denounced and excommunicated them; their leaders had been executed or hunted down; and Toledo ... was clearly seeking accommodation with the Crown.

In their intellectual struggle, the Conversos

recruited prominent and respected Old Christians to defend their cause — a strategy commonly employed by Jews through the ages. (Even in the ancient world there developed an entire apologetic literature written by Jews masquerading as non-Jews.)³⁷ Similarly, in modern societies Jews have often covertly funded organizations headed by prominent non-Jews that combat anti-Semitism or otherwise promote Jewish interests. Examples of this phenomenon in 20th-century America include the successful campaigns to establish a US trade embargo against Tsarist Russia and to revise American immigration policy to promote maximum racial and cultural pluralism.³⁸

As Netanyahu shows, the Conversos recruited several prominent Old Christians to support their cause. Lope de Barrientos, an Old Christian and Bishop of Cuenca, was recruited by the Converso Fernán Díaz to write a tract supporting the Christian orthodoxy of most Conversos and condemning their enemies (p. 612). Actually, this tract was no more than a revision of one that Díaz himself had written. Another Old Christian, the jurist Alonso Díaz de Montalvo, sought help from two prominent New Christian intellectuals in writing a pro-Converso apologetic tract.

So it was that the New Christians engaged in an elaborate, multifaceted strategy to counter and vanquish their enemies. This included polemical writings by Converso intellectuals, recruitment of prominent non-Jewish intellectuals, as well as falsifications and deletions of the historical record by Converso scholars. It also included efforts to persuade the King to deal harshly with anti-Jewish pogromists, and to persuade the Pope to excommunicate the anti-Jewish Toledo rebels of 1449. During the Inquisition era New Christians bribed the Pope and other high officials, and at times were able to infiltrate the Inquisition itself, as part of the effort to soften the effect of its campaign against crypto-Jews. Converso efforts were not confined to the intellectual field. They also included the establishment of para-military urban self-defense organizations, and even assassinations of anti-Converso leaders during periods of armed conflict.

Because of such efforts the New Christians remained a prominent political force in Spain well into the 17th century (even as the Inquisition remained active well into the 18th century). One can only be impressed by their incredible tenacity, as well as that of Jewish historians such as Netanyahu who continue to fight their battles five centuries later.

Furthering a Jewish Historical Outlook

In this regard Netanyahu is of course continuing a long tradition of Jewish intellectual apologetics



From the Middle Ages to the 20th century, violent eruptions of rage against Jews have broken out in Europe. This contemporary print depicts a pogrom in the Frankfurt Jewish quarter, 1614.

that stretches back to the ancient world. Jewish scholar Jacob Katz sees this academic pattern as very much alive in today's world. Jewish Studies Departments in American universities, he finds, are explicitly linked to Jewish nationalism, and they often violate customary standards of scholarly objectivity: "The inhibitions of traditionalism, on the one hand, and a tendency toward apologetics, on the other, can function as deterrents to scholarly objectivity." The work of Jewish historians, says Katz, exhibits "a defensiveness that continues to haunt so much of contemporary Jewish activity."³⁹

Another recent book on the Inquisition, José Faur's *In the Shadow of History: Jews and Conversos at the Dawn of Modernity*⁴⁰ is even more disgraceful than Netanyahu's in its disregard for the normal scholarly pursuit of truth, pressed into the service of promoting a thoroughly Judeocentric historiography. In the introduction, Faur describes his deep commitment to Judaism and attachment to the Jewish culture of his childhood. "This book is written from the perspective of the 'other,'" he writes. "The story of the conversos ... concerns the

attempt of the oppressed to break the silence imposed on them by the persecuting society, and transmit the perspective of the persecuted to future generations."

Faur completely rejects "objective" or "scientific" history whose real function has been "to suppress alternative perspectives, particularly the perspective of the victim." He boldly lays out his goal:

There will be no "Jewish history" without Jewish historians establishing a specific Jewish perspective. Therefore, the rise of a Jewish historical consciousness is indispensable for a particular Jewish history ... Without a historical consciousness the destiny of the Jewish people will remain unfulfilled.

Historiography for Faur is fundamentally subjective. "The most awesome responsibility of the Jewish historian," he writes, "is to validate the authority of Jewish memory." Just as with the 15th-century Converso chroniclers, historians such as Netanyahu, and a very long line of Jewish apologists stretching back into the ancient world, José

Faur sees his intellectual work as dedicated first and foremost to furthering Jewish group interests.

In spite of their unconcealed bias, historians such as Netanyahu and Faur encounter no obstacles in today's world. Their works are published by the most prominent and respectable publishing houses, while revisionist scholars who attempt a more objective perspective on history — one that inevitably conflicts with Jewish self-conceptions and interests — are typically relegated to a sort of intellectual underground, if not driven to oblivion.

An Ancient Conflict

Every healthy society requires a sense of moral and ethical rectitude, even a kind of self-righteousness — and no people has refined this sense more acutely than the Jews.

Beginning with Philo and Josephus in the ancient world, Jewish scholars and religious leaders have developed complex arguments intended to present the Jewish people and Judaism in a positive light. As part of this effort to morally justify the Jewish role in history they often portray Judaism as a morally superior religion, Jews as acting according to high ethical principles, and the Jewish people as, consequently, a moral beacon for the rest of humanity. This “light unto the nations” argument has persisted as a prominent theme of 19th and 20th century Jewish apologia.

Consistent with this, Jewish intellectuals have sought to defend Jewish history and tradition by portraying as immoral all societies and cultures that have been unfriendly to Jews. Especially in recent centuries, Jewish scholars have been at the forefront of efforts to malign and discredit the intellectual, cultural and religious foundations of Western civilization. Referring to this process, British historian Paul Johnson writes of “the sheer destructive power of Jewish rationalism once it escaped the restraints of the traditional community.”⁴¹

Netanyahu is squarely within this tradition. His work seeks to portray Jewish (and Converso) behavior as ethical, and Judaism as moral, while at the same time castigating anti-Jewish societies as fundamentally irrational and malevolent. Thus he censures not merely Spanish culture, but Western civilization — including its religious pillar, Christianity. In the view of Jewish intellectuals such as Netanyahu, the history of the West — beginning with the Roman Empire and the early Christian era, and culminating in Auschwitz — has largely been a chronicle of Jew-hatred, and therefore of almost unrelieved evil.

For their part, non-Jews in widely varying periods and places have regarded Jewish behavior, as well as the fundamentally ethnocentric moral code of Judaism, with loathing and contempt.⁴² One

finds this from Roman intellectuals in the ancient world, in the spectacular Christian-Jewish “disputations” of the Middle Ages, in repeated condemnations of the Jewish Talmud by Popes and other Christian leaders, and as a prominent strand of 18th- and 19th-century Enlightenment discourse about the Jews (for example, by Kant and Voltaire).

In a world in which Jews and non-Jews are still groping to determine the proper place of Jews in society, Jewish historians such as Netanyahu and Faur take their work very seriously. They regard themselves not as dispassionate scholars in search of historical truth, but as intellectual warriors in a conflict that is being waged for the highest stakes. They believe, correctly, that the very survival of the Jewish people requires ceaseless scholarly defense, even in our “enlightened” age. In this ancient conflict, Netanyahu’s book is an important intellectual weapon — massive and sharp, but also double-edged.

Notes

1. Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (New York: Meridian Books, and, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1960 [copyright 1932]), p. 20; and, C. Roth, *The Spanish Inquisition* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1937), p. 27; Cecil Roth, born in England in 1899, authored numerous works of Jewish history. He began teaching at Oxford University in 1939.
2. Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (New York and Philadelphia: 1960), pp. 20, 30, 31.
3. H. Fast, *The Jews: Story of a People* (Dell pb. edition, 1978 [originally: Dial Press: 1968]), pp. 215, 216.
4. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford Univ. Press [2nd ed.] 1977), p. 1296.
5. Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (New York: Free Press, 1988); “The Myth of the Spanish Inquisition,” a 1995 BBC television documentary that was also broadcast in the USA on the History Channel (A&E cable network), January 17, 1996; Edward O’Brien, “A New Look at the Spanish Inquisition,” *The Wanderer* (St. Paul, Minn.), Feb. 15, 1996, p. 10.
6. Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (New York and Philadelphia: 1960), pp. 1-10; L. Begley, *Wartime Lies* (New York: Knopf, 1991); J. Prinz, *The Secret Jews* (New York: Random House, 1973).
7. D.K. Shipler, “Soviet Jews Found to Retain Identity,” *The New York Times*, Feb. 20, 1981. See also Hendrick Smith’s book, *The Russians*.
8. H. Beinart, “The Converso Community in 15th Century Spain,” in R.D. Barnett (ed.), *The Sephardi Heritage*, Vol. I (New York: Ktav, 1971), pp. 425-456, 457-478; H. Beinart, *Conversos on Trial: The Inquisition in Ciudad Real* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press/Hebrew Univ., 1981); S. M. Hordes, “The Inquisition and the Crypto-Jewish community in colonial New Spain and New Mexico,” in M. E. Perry & A. J. Cruz (eds.), *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1991); M. Lazar, “Scorched parchments and tortured memories: The “Jewishness” of the Anusim (Crypto-Jews),” in M. E. Perry & A. J. Cruz (eds.), *Cultural Encounters: The*

Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World (Berkeley: 1991).

9. See, for example, J. C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Bankers at the Court of Spain 1626-1650* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1983); Y. H. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto: Isaac Cardoso: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Marranism and Jewish Apologetics* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1971).
10. Salo W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, Vol. XV, "Late Middle Ages and Era of European Expansion," (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America [2nd ed.], 1973), p. 372; S. Haliczzer, "The First Holocaust," in S. Haliczzer (ed.), (trans. S. Haliczzer), *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble, 1987).
11. S. M. Hordes, "The Inquisition and the Crypto-Jewish Community ...," in M.E. Perry & A.J. Cruz (eds.), *Cultural Encounters* (Berkeley: 1991), p. 213.
12. S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, Vol. XV (Philadelphia: 1973), pp. 233-234.
13. Y. H. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto* (New York: 1971), p. 5.
14. C. Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (1960), Epilogue, "The Marranos of Today," and esp. pp. 362-365, 368, 369; In 1990 a community of about 500 clandestine Jews was living in the Portuguese town of Belmonte. Source: P. Ames, "Portugal Jews Begin to Shed Secrecy," *Los Angeles Times* (AP article), June 3, 1990; In 1978 the leading Jewish community paper of Britain reported that "there are still villages in Portugal populated by these secret Jews ..." Source: S. Freedland, "The Secret Jews: 1978 Style," *Jewish Chronicle* (London), Feb. 3, 1978, p. 24; See also: H.C. Lea, *History of the Inquisition of Spain*, 4 Vols. (New York: American Scholar Publications, 1906-1907; reprinted in 1966).
15. Cited in S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, Vol. XV (1973), p. 110.
16. S.W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, Vol. XV, p. 139; B. Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550-1670* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1983).
17. Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (1932 ed.), pp. xxiii-xxiv. Another recent example is José Faur, who writes passionately of the "the glory of Sepharad" (*In the Shadow of History: Jews and Conversos at the Dawn of Modernity*, Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 1992, p. ix).
18. Henry Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1985). Kamen continues his highly apologetic work in a review of Netanyahu's book, "The Secret of the Inquisition," *New York Review of Books*, Feb. 1, 1996, pp. 4-6. Indeed, Kamen goes beyond Netanyahu to claim that "to a considerable extent the Inquisition created anti-Semitism, rather than that anti-Semitism created the Inquisition." This is an astonishing assertion in light of the widespread and repeated violence against Jews culminating in the forced conversions of 1391 and against the Conversos from the 1440s until the establishment of the Inquisition in 1480. The clear message from the work of many scholars, including Netanyahu, is that over several centuries the only restraint on intensely violent anti-Jewish and anti-Converso pogroms was the alliance of the Jews, and later the Conversos, with the crown.
19. E. Rivkin, "How Jewish were the New Christians?," in J. Sola-Sole, S.G. Armistead, and Silverman (eds.), *Hispania Judaica: Studies in the History, Language, and Literature of the Jews in the Hispanic World*, Vol. I: History (Barcelona: Puvill-Editor, undated).
20. A. Castro, *The Structure of Spanish History*, trans. E. L. King (Princeton Univ. Press, 1954), pp. 525, 531.
21. Quoted in: W.T. Walsh, *Isabella of Spain: The Last Crusader* (New York: Robert M. McBride and Co. 1930), pp. 202-203.
22. V. Perera, "Burning questions: A monumental reinterpretation of why the Inquisition happened," *The New Yorker*, Nov. 6, 1995, pp. 163-174.
23. David Berger, in his review, "Old & New Christians," *Commentary*, October 1995, p. 56, describes Netanyahu's work as "devoid of nuance" in its unitary portrayal of the New Christians, and as reconstructing "motives and intentions through a series of inferences based on slim evidence."
24. Published in New York in 1966 by the American Academy for Jewish Research. Reissued in 1973.
25. See G. Cohen (Review of *The Marranos of Spain* by B. Netanyahu), *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 29, 1967, pp. 178-184. Cohen emphasizes how Netanyahu engages in extremely tendentious interpretations to defend his hypothesis.; See also: Y.H. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto* (1971), pp. 21ff.
26. Richard L. Kagan, "Article of Faith?" (review), *The New York Times Book Review*, August 27, 1995, p. 16.
27. See J. Contreras, "Family and patronage: The Judeo-Converso minority in Spain," in M. E. Perry & A. J. Cruz (eds.), *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1991), p. 134; J. Faur, *In the Shadow of History* (1992), p. 41; S. Freund and T. Ruiz, "Jews, Conversos, and the Inquisition in Spain, 1391-1492," in M. Perry & F. M. Schweitzer (eds.) *Jewish-Christian Encounters over the Centuries* (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), p. 178; S. Haliczzer, *Inquisition and Society in the Kingdom of Valencia 1478-1834* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1990), p. 212ff; R. Kagan, "Article of faith," *The New York Times Book Review*, August 27, 1995, p. 16.
28. D. Berger, "Old & New Christians," *Commentary*, 100(4), October 1995, p. 56.
29. H. Fast, *The Jews: Story of a People* (Dell pb. edition, 1978 [originally: Dial Press: 1968]), pp. 218-219; See also: Yirmiyahu Yovel, *Spinoza and Other Heretics* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1989), Chaps. 1-4.
30. J. Contreras, "Family and patronage" and J. Contreras, "Alderman and Judaizers: Cryptojudaism, Counter-Reformation, and local power," both in A.J. Cruz & M.E. Perry (eds.), *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1992; S. M. Hordes, "The Inquisition ...," in M.E. Perry & A.J. Cruz (eds.), *Cultural Encounters* (Berkeley: 1991); Y.H. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto* (1971), p. 18.
31. C. Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (New York and Philadelphia: 1960), p. 21.
32. C. Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (1960), p. 31.
33. Y.H. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto* (1971), p. 48.
34. One finds similar arguments in the literature of today's "Jews for Jesus" movement.
35. Parallels with our own time are obvious. During the past century, Marxist and liberal thinkers have worked hard to persuade lawmakers and the public that race and ethnicity should not be regarded as socially relevant — even though they have played an important role in the real day to day

lives of people. Or consider those Jewish leaders of today who urge non-Jews to abandon their sense of ethnic, racial, religious and cultural identity, while at the same time encouraging Jews vigilantly to maintain their own distinctive ethnic-religious group identity.

36. Albert S. Lindemann, *The Jew Accused: Three Anti-Semitic Affairs (Dreyfus, Beilis, Frank) 1894-1915* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991); See also: Wilmot Robertson, *The Dispossessed Majority* (Cape Canaveral, Fla.: Howard Allen, 1981).
37. E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*, Vol. III (Revised and edited by G. Vermes, F. Millar, & M. Goodman. Originally published in 1885. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986), pp. 617ff.
38. N.W. Cohen, *Not Free to Desist: The American Jewish Committee 1906-1966* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1972); S. M. Neuringer, *American Jewry and United States Immigration Policy 1881-1953* (New York: Arno, 1980); Nathan C. Belth, *A Promise to Keep: A Narrative of the American Encounter with Anti-Semitism* (New York: Times Books/ The New York Times [copyright: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith], 1979), pp. 173, 175; Also valuable is: Alfred M. Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection* (New York: 1978).
39. Jacob Katz, *Jewish Emancipation and Self-Emancipation* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1986), pp. 84, 85.
40. J. Faur, *In the Shadow of History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992). The quotations from Faur's book are from pages 8 (italics in text), 183, 184 and 210.
41. P. Johnson, *A History of the Jews* (New York: Perennial Library, 1988 [Originally published by Harper and Row, 1987]), pp. 291-292.
42. See the remarkable book by Israeli scholar Israel Shahak, *Jewish Religion, Jewish History: The Weight of Three Thousand Years* (Boulder, Colorado: Pluto Press, 1994).

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Exchanging Views on the Holocaust

Debating the Undebatable: The Weber-Shermer Clash

For several years now, Jewish organizations have said that to debate those who dispute the Six Million story gives legitimacy to a view that is beyond the bounds of decent public discourse, and provides a forum for "hate." Deborah Lipstadt, author of *Denying the Holocaust*, insists that there is not and cannot be a debate on the Holocaust. In a few countries, including France and Germany, those who express dissident views on this issue are treated as criminals.

Actually, there have already been a few scattered Holocaust debates. For several hours in April 1979, French professor Robert Faurisson defended his revisionist views against challenge by several "exterminationist" historians on Italian-language Swiss television. That same year the Italian history journal *Storia Illustrata* opened its pages to both Faurisson and anti-revisionist scholars to present their conflicting arguments. (See R. Faurisson, "The Gas Chambers: Truth or Lie?," Winter 1981 *Journal*, pp. 319-373.)

Although nothing on this scale has so far been possible in the United States, on Saturday afternoon, July 22, 1995, a strong beam of light pierced the prevailing blackout when two scholars squared off in a debate at a hotel in Costa Mesa, California. Michael Shermer, history of science associate professor at Occidental College, and editor-publisher of *Skeptic* magazine, matched wits for two hours with Mark Weber, Director of the Institute for Historical Review, and editor of its *Journal of Historical Review*. Greg Raven, *Journal* associate editor, served as MC for the event, which was sponsored by the Institute for Historical Review, and introduced the two participants. Each speaker delivered a 30-minute opening presentation, followed by a 20-minute rebuttal. A question and answer period concluded the event. (A videotape of this debate is available from the IHR for \$19.95, plus tax and shipping.)

Changing Holocaust Story

In his opening presentation, Weber explained precisely what revisionists say, and do not say, about the Holocaust issue. He stressed that the

Holocaust story has changed drastically over the years. What we are told today is quite different than the story given at the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-46. Weber continued:

Many extermination claims that were once widely accepted have been quietly dropped in recent years. For example, the great Nuremberg Trial of 1945-1946 supposedly proved that the Germans systematically killed people in gas chambers at Dachau, Buchenwald and other concentration camps in Germany proper. That part of the extermination story proved so untenable that it was abandoned more than twenty years ago.

As Weber pointed out, no serious historian now supports the once supposedly proven stories of "extermination camps" in the territory of the old German Reich. Even Simon Wiesenthal, the well-known "Nazi hunter," acknowledged in 1975 and again in 1993 that, "there were no extermination camps on German soil."

These days, said Weber, prominent Holocaust historians maintain that large numbers of Jews were gassed at just six camps in what is now Poland: Auschwitz (including Birkenau), Majdanek, Treblinka, Sobibor, Chelmno and Belzec. However, Weber said, the so-called "evidence" presented for gassings at these six camps is not qualitatively different than the now-discredited so-called "evidence" for alleged gassings at the camps in Germany.

At the great Nuremberg trial, Weber pointed out, the Allies charged that the Germans had murdered one and a half million people in the Majdanek camp alone. In the decades that followed, this charge was widely repeated. Today no one believes it.

Cornerstone Auschwitz

Weber and Shermer each devoted considerable attention to the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz, and especially Auschwitz-Birkenau, the cornerstone of the Holocaust story. At the Nuremberg Tribunal, and for decades afterwards, it was universally alleged that the Germans killed four

million prisoners at Auschwitz alone. In recent years, Weber pointed out, this figure has been drastically revised downwards. For example, prominent French Holocaust historian Jean-Claude Pressac has recently estimated that 775,000 persons, of whom 630,000 were Jews, perished at Auschwitz. While even such lower figures are incorrect, said Weber, they show how the Auschwitz story has changed drastically over the years.

Blame for the wildly exaggerated four million figure is today pinned in the Poles or the Soviets. "What is routinely suppressed," said Weber, is the fact that the four million Auschwitz figure was not only promoted by the Soviets, but officially endorsed by the United States and Britain, notably at the Nuremberg Tribunal, and was widely and uncritically repeated in the American media and major reference works.

One document that is constantly cited as key evidence for the Holocaust extermination story, said Weber, is the postwar "confession" of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. In his statement of April 5, 1946, which was submitted by the US prosecution at the main Nuremberg trial, Höss supposedly "confessed" to killing two and half million people at Auschwitz between 1940 and December 1943. (He claimed that another half million succumbed to starvation and disease during this period.)

But if far fewer than two million died at Auschwitz, as is now officially conceded in Israel and Poland, the Höss "confession" is implicitly fraudulent. In fact, said Weber, we now know that this "confession," as well as Höss' Nuremberg trial testimony, are not only demonstrably false on crucial points, but were obtained by torture. (See: Rupert Butler, *Legions of Death* [England: 1983], pp. 235ff.; R. Faurisson, "How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss," *Winter 1986-87 Journal*, pp. 389-403.)

In spite of the drastic downward revisions in the once supposedly authoritative death tolls for Auschwitz and Majdanek, said Weber, no non-Revisionist historian has yet had the courage to draw the "rather obvious conclusion that the legendary six million figure cannot possibly be correct." For the time being, anyway, it is still treated with reverence.

Weber cited detailed aerial photographs of Auschwitz taken by Allied reconnaissance aircraft on several random days in 1944, during the height of the alleged extermination period there. These photographs, which were first made public in 1979, "show no trace of piles of corpses, smoking crematory chimneys or masses of Jews awaiting death," all of which have been alleged, and which would have been visible if Auschwitz had indeed been the

Message of Greeting

This message from Robert Faurisson was read at the Weber-Shermer meeting by MC Greg Raven:

I greet you from France, and wish you success in your meeting today. I wish I could be with you.

I would enjoy participating in a public debate with Dr. Shermer. I would ask him to publish in his magazine the text of "My comment on an open letter from Michael Shermer (of March 31, 1995)," and, now that he has returned from his visit to sites of wartime camps in Poland and Germany, I would repeat to him my challenge: "Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber!"

You in America and we in France, along with friends in many other countries, are working together in a great worldwide struggle against historical lies, intellectual tyranny and terror. Many of us, because of our revisionist views, have lost jobs, received heavy fines, been sent to jail, or have been severely assaulted, especially in France, Germany and Austria.

Last month a court in Paris found me guilty of violating, once again, our country's five-year-old "Fabius-Gayssot" law against Holocaust revisionism, which makes it illegal to dispute crimes against humanity as defined by the Nuremberg Tribunal.

On June 13, this Paris court ordered Henri Roques

and me to pay 29,000 francs, about \$6,000, because of my book, *Réponse à Jean-Claude Pressac sur le problème des chambres à gaz*. I regard this sentence as an honor.

For this trial we subpoenaed Pressac. He suffered a major disaster in court. He was unable to provide the three judges with even one proof of the existence of even one gas chamber in Auschwitz. It is undoubtedly thanks to this Pressac disaster that we received such an unusually mild sentence. [See: "French Court Fines Faurisson, Roques for 'Holocaust Denial' Book" in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 13-17.]

The fact that our enemies must resort to bigoted boycott campaigns, criminal laws and physical violence shows their fear and desperation, and that they are not confident of their views.

In this international struggle, the Institute for Historical Review has been playing a critically important role for more than 15 years. The Institute has a record without parallel, and is a keystone of our global coalition. It must continue its vital work.

Right now, at a time when our Institute is facing serious financial difficulties, I urge you to support it with your generous donation.

infamous extermination center it is said to have been.

Forensic Examinations

Weber spoke about the various expert reports and on-site forensic examinations that have been made of the alleged extermination gas chambers, especially at Auschwitz-Birkenau. He spoke first about Fred Leuchter and his February 1988 on-site investigation at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek. In sworn testimony in the 1988 Toronto trial of Ernst Zündel, and in a technical report, Leuchter described every aspect of his investigations. Presenting photos of the facilities, plans, charts and scientific data, he explained his startling conclusion that the "gas chamber" story is absurd and physically impossible. It is worth noting that at the time Leuchter was widely acknowledged as America's foremost execution hardware specialist. (See the Winter 1992-93 *Journal*, pp. 421-428, 485-492.)

Leuchter's findings have been authoritatively corroborated by a major Polish research center, Weber continued. They prompted the Auschwitz State Museum, an agency of the Polish government, to commission the Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow to conduct a similar forensic investigation. In a confidential report dated September 24, 1990, the Krakow Institute confirmed that its own findings very closely match those of the American gas chamber specialist. (See the Summer 1991 *Journal*, pp. 207-216.)

Dr. William Lindsey, an American research chemist employed for 33 years by the Dupont Corporation, likewise personally inspected the so-called gas chambers, said Weber. In a 1985 court case Lindsey testified under oath that the Auschwitz gassing story is physically impossible. Based on his careful examination of the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, and on his years of experience, he declared: "I have come to the conclusion that no one was willfully or purposefully killed with Zyklon B [hydrogen cyanide] in this manner. I consider it absolutely impossible."

Similarly, said Weber, a leading Austrian engineer, Walter Lüftl, declared in March 1992 that the stories of mass extermination of Jews in gas chambers at Auschwitz and Mauthausen are "technically impossible." Lüftl, a court-recognized engineer, heads a large engineering firm in Vienna. At the time his report was made public, he was president of the Austrian Engineers Chamber, a four thousand member professional association. (See the Winter 1992-93 *Journal*, pp. 391-420.)

German chemist Germar Rudolf similarly published a detailed report on the supposed gas chambers of Auschwitz, including Birkenau. His 1993



Michael Shermer, editor-publisher of *Skeptic* magazine, addresses the IHR-sponsored meeting.

report, Weber said, is based on an on-site investigation, chemical analysis of samples, and meticulous research. Rudolf, a certified chemist and doctoral candidate, worked at the renowned Max Planck Institut research center in Stuttgart. "For chemical-physical reasons," Rudolf concluded, "the claimed mass gassings with hydrocyanic acid in the alleged 'gas chambers' in Auschwitz did not take place ... The supposed facilities for mass killing in Auschwitz and Birkenau were not suitable for this purpose."

'Steam Chambers' and 'Jewish Soap'

At one time, Weber pointed out, it was seriously claimed that the Germans exterminated Jews with electricity and steam, and that they manufactured soap from Jewish corpses. At Nuremberg, he went on, the United States charged that the Germans killed Jews at Treblinka, not in gas chambers, as is now claimed, but by steaming them to death in so-called "steam chambers." These bizarre stories have also been quietly abandoned in recent years. (See "Treblinka," Summer 1992 *Journal*, pp. 133-158.)

In April 1990, Israeli historians conceded that the Germans did not manufacture bars of soap from



Enlargement of an Allied aerial reconnaissance photo of Auschwitz-Birkenau, taken on August 25, 1944. It shows no trace of piles of corpses, smoking crematory chimneys or masses of Jews awaiting death. A large blow-up of this photograph was displayed at the Weber-Shermer debate.

the bodies of murdered Jews — contrary to what had been alleged for years in countless periodicals and supposedly authoritative history texts. If this story is not true, one might reasonably ask, how then did it ever get started? Israeli historian Yehuda Bauer had a ready answer. He charged that the *Nazis* invented it. In fact, said Weber, this particular fable was first widely circulated in 1942 by the World Jewish Congress, and especially by its president, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

Anne Frank

The Holocaust extermination story is superficially plausible, said Weber. Everyone has seen the horrific photos of dead and dying inmates taken at Bergen-Belsen, Nordhausen and other concentration camps when they were liberated by British and American forces in the final weeks of the war in

Europe. These people were unfortunate victims, said Weber, not of an extermination program, but of disease and malnutrition brought on by the complete collapse of Germany in the final months of the war. In fact, he said, if there had been an extermination program, the Jews found by Allied forces at the end of the war would have long since been killed.

Perhaps the best known "Holocaust victim" has been Anne Frank, whose name is known around the world for her famous diary. Her fate, said Weber, is typical of many Jews who lost their lives in German camps during the war. The 15-year-old girl and her father, Otto Frank, were deported from the Netherlands to Auschwitz in September 1944. Several weeks later, in the face of the advancing Soviet army, Anne was evacuated along with many other Jews to the Bergen-Belsen camp, where she died of

typhus in March 1945.

Her father came down with typhus in Auschwitz and was sent to the camp hospital to recover. He was one of thousands of sick and feeble Jews who were left behind when the Germans abandoned the camp in January 1945, shortly before it was overrun by the Soviets. He died in Switzerland in 1980. If the German policy had been to kill Anne Frank, neither she, nor her father and sister (along with many other Jews), would not have "survived" Auschwitz. "As tragic as it was," said Weber, "their fate cannot be reconciled with the extermination story."

Himmler's Order to the Camps

At the end of the Second World War, Weber said, the Allies confiscated a tremendous quantity of German documents dealing with Germany's wartime Jewish policy, which was sometimes referred to as the "final solution." "But not a single German document has ever been found that orders or even refers to an extermination program," he emphasized. "To the contrary, the documents clearly show that the German 'final solution' policy was one of emigration and deportation, not extermination."

Moreover, said Weber, there "is no documentary evidence that Adolf Hitler ever gave an order to exterminate the Jews, or that he knew of any extermination program." Instead, Weber continued, "the record shows that the German leader wanted the Jews to leave Europe, by emigration if possible and by deportation if necessary."

Contrary to the popular propaganda image, the wartime German authorities were concerned about the high death rate in the concentration camps due to disease, and took measures to prevent deaths among the inmates. In this regard, Weber quoted from a directive dated December 28, 1942, from the head of the SS camp administration office to all the German concentration camps, including Auschwitz. It sharply criticized the high death rate of inmates due to disease, and ordered that "camp physicians must use all means at their disposal to significantly reduce the death rate in the various camps." Furthermore, it ordered: "The camp doctors must supervise more often than in the past the nutrition of the prisoners and, in cooperation with the administration, submit improvement recommendations to the camp commandants ..." Finally, the directive stressed, "The Reichsführer SS [Himmler] has ordered that the death rate absolutely must be reduced."

'Survivor Testimony'

Holocaust historians rely heavily on so-called "survivor testimony," to support the extermination story. But such "evidence," Weber said, is notoriously unreliable. He cited an article by Jewish his-

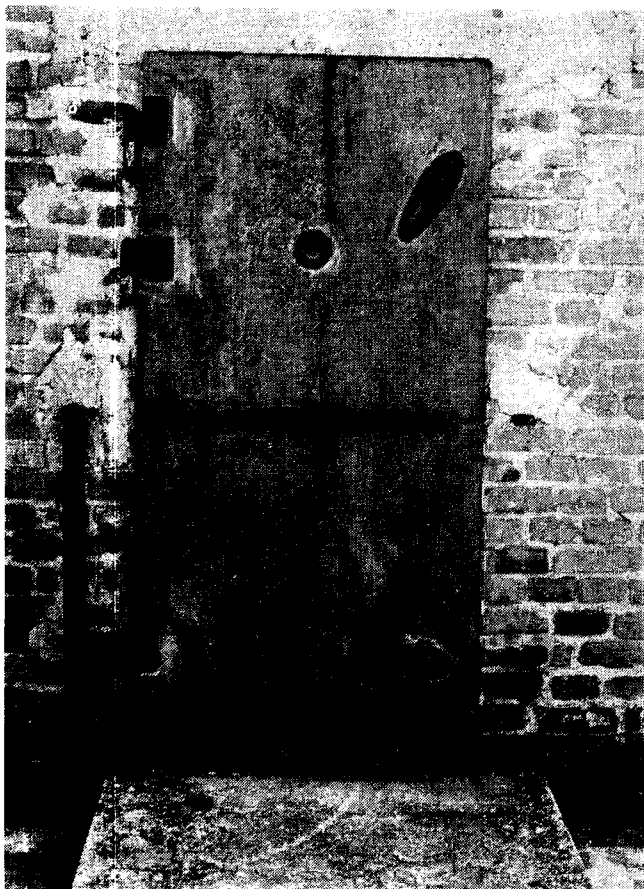


Mark Weber, director of the Institute for Historical Review, makes a point during the IHR-sponsored Holocaust debate. He responds to claims made in *The Record*, a mass-circulation ADL publication.

torian Samuel Gringauz, himself a "survivor" (*Jewish Social Studies*, Jan. 1950). "Most of the memoirs and reports" of "survivors," Gringauz pointed out, "are full of preposterous verbosity, graphomantic exaggeration, dramatic effects, overestimated self-inflation, dilettante philosophizing, would-be lyricism, unchecked rumors, bias, partisan attacks and apologies."

In addition, Weber continued, more than ten thousand of the twenty thousand so-called "testimonies" of Jewish "survivors" on file at the Yad Vashem Holocaust center in Israel are also unreliable, according to a front page article that appeared in the *Jerusalem Post* newspaper of August 17th, 1986. The report quotes Shmuel Krakowski, the archives director of the Israeli government's Holocaust memorial center, who declared that "over half of the 20,000 testimonies from Holocaust survivors on record at Yad Vashem are 'unreliable'."

As a fairly typical example of "eyewitness" gas chamber evidence, Weber quoted from the sworn statement of Regina Bialek, a former Auschwitz prisoner who supposedly survived a "gassing." (See



A casting of this “gas chamber” door from the Majdanek camp in Poland is on display at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. French Holocaust researcher Jean-Claude Presnac has conceded that this “gas chamber” is a fraud. (See the Sept.-Oct. 1993 *Journal*, p. 39.)

her statement on page 32). Calling this first-person account “absurd” and “ludicrous,” Weber pointed out that her description of a “gassing” is one that no serious historian today would credit.

ADL Disinformation

Weber took several minutes to deal with claims presented in one of the most widely distributed pieces of Holocaust propaganda. He held up a copy of *The Record: The Holocaust in History*, a publication of the Zionist Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith that purports to be a reliable account of how Europe’s Jews were treated between 1933 and 1945.

According to *The Record*, said Weber, no less two million Jews were killed at Treblinka alone. But it does not claim that the victims were shot or gassed, which is the generally accepted story these days, but maintains instead that they were steamed to death — a story no reputable historian now accepts. Another item, Weber continued, tells readers about

mass killings at the Belzec camp. Citing an “eyewitness account,” *The Record* reports that Jews were put to death there, not by gassing, but by *electrocuting* them in a special hydraulic electrocution device. This is yet another discredited propaganda fable.

This ADL publication also includes a photograph of a door with a sinister skull and crossbones emblem, and the words in German: “Caution! Gas! Mortal Danger! Do Not Open!” Underneath this photo a caption tells readers: “Door of a gas chamber, typical of ones through which millions of Jews passed to their deaths.” In fact, said Weber, this photograph actually shows the door of a non-homicidal gas chamber at Dachau used to kill lice in clothing. It was never used to kill people. At Auschwitz, the ADL *Record* goes on to report, “more than four million persons were systematically slaughtered.” As Weber had already mentioned, this is another once authoritatively accepted claim that has been consigned to the trash heap of history.

‘Holocaustomania’

“Even after more than forty years,” said Weber, “the vast Holocaust campaign shows no sign of diminishing, but instead seems to grow more intense with each passing year.” He continued: “This relentless media campaign, which Jewish-American historian Alfred Lilienthal appropriately calls ‘Holocaustomania,’ portrays the fate of the Jews during the Second World War as the central event of history.”

Non-Jewish victims just do not merit the same concern, said Weber. “For example, there are no American memorials, ‘study centers,’ or annual observances for the victims of Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin, even though it is well established that Stalin’s victims vastly outnumber Hitler’s ... The Holocaust has become both a flourishing business and even a kind of new religion for many Jews.”

While we are endlessly told that the Germans murdered six million European Jews during the Second World War, said Weber, the public is kept largely ignorant of the conflict’s non-Jewish victims. Weber continued:

If you ask an average, reasonably educated American: “How many European Jews were killed by the Nazis during World War II?,” the almost automatic answer is, of course, six million. But if you ask that same person: How many *Americans* lost their lives in the Second World War, or, for that matter, how many British, or Chinese, or Germans, died, the response is usually an admission of ignorance.

According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Weber noted, some 20 million Chinese civilian perished in World War II, while according to the Chi-

nese government, 35 million Chinese lost their lives as a result of Japanese aggression. "How many Americans know or care about these Asian victims of the Second World War?" Weber asked.

Shermer's 'Convergence of Evidence'

As Michael Shermer came to the podium the audience greeted him with a round of applause. The Holocaust is obviously a very emotional issue, he told the gathering, "if not the most emotional event in modern history." All the same, he went on, as a "civil libertarian" he entirely agrees that the principle of free speech should also protect dissident views about the Holocaust. As it happens, he had just returned from Europe, where he inspected the sites of the wartime German concentration camps of Auschwitz, Majdanek, Mauthausen and Dachau.

He sought to discredit Holocaust revisionists (and their arguments) by comparing them with anti-Darwinian "creationists." He rejected as specious Robert Faurisson's often-repeated demand for "one proof, just one proof" of a wartime German homicidal gas chamber. "He's not going to get 'one proof'," said Shermer, "because there isn't 'one proof' of a gas chamber." Faurisson's call is like the creationist demand for "just one fossil" proving evolution. "Evolution is not proved by one fossil," Shermer said.

"We are very confident of the sequence of historical events in evolution and in the Holocaust," he continued. "The Holocaust, as it is generally accepted, happened," said Shermer. Evidence for the extermination of six million Jews, many of them in gas chambers, is "constantly fine tuned and changed." "While there may be problems with bits and pieces of the story," said Shermer, "we have to look at the big picture." What proves "the Holocaust," he said, is a "convergence of evidence" or a "consilience of inductions."

"Did the Nazis intend to exterminate European Jews?" Shermer asked. He responded to his own query by saying that this question is too simple. "The Holocaust is not a single event that occurred at one time," he said, but rather a collection of events. Rather than an over-arching plan or program, the "Holocaust evolved over time."

Incriminating Statements?

Perhaps the most impressive evidence presented by Shermer to prove a German extermination policy were several wartime statements by high-ranking Third Reich officials. These included excerpts from the "service journal" of Hans Frank, governor of German-ruled Poland, passages from the diary of propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels, and a portion of SS chief Heinrich Himmler's well-known October 1943 Posen speech. (Shermer had already



Greg Raven, *Journal* associate editor, introduces the speakers at the Weber-Shermer Holocaust debate.

published these in the June 1994 "pseudohistory" issue of his *Skeptic* magazine, Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 44-54.)

In spite of what Weber had said earlier about it, Shermer also cited the postwar testimony of former Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss as important evidence of a German extermination program. Shermer offered no response to the specific points made by Weber about this, except to say that Höss' testimony "has some funky things surrounding it," and that Höss' figures may be "way off." Shermer also compared Höss' postwar testimony with that of Perry Broad and camp physician Dr. Johann Paul Kremer. (On this, see: R. Faurisson "Confessions of SS Men who were at Auschwitz," Summer 1981 *Journal*, pp. 103-136.)

Holding up a copy of the 1994 anthology, *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, Shermer recommended this work and specifically endorsed the contribution there of Canadian architect Robert-Jan van Pelt. Quoting van Pelt, Shermer said that "Auschwitz has become a myth ... Few events can



Weber holds up a copy of *The Record: The Holocaust in History*, a mass-circulation publication of the Zionist "Anti-Defamation League."

rival the mythic power of Auschwitz."

Auschwitz, said Shermer, was "never intended, he [Van Pelt] proves, to be an extermination camp." Rather, it "evolved" into a killing center. Holocaust historians such as Pressac and van Pelt now contend that the supposed "gas chambers" at Kremas II and III were originally planned and constructed as normal morgues (*Leichenkeller*). Only later, they assert, were these rooms transformed into killing facilities.

Weber Responds

Weber stressed that while Shermer readily acknowledges that much of what we have been told about the Holocaust over the years is not true, and that many specific Holocaust claims are now demonstrably false, he entirely ignores the implications of this drastic revision of the historical record. Piles of once supposedly solid "evidence" are now acknowledged to be fraudulent, numerous "eyewitness" testimonies and "official" reports are now conceded to be worthless. But this is of more than academic significance. Many lives have been ruined because of such once supposedly "proven" Holocaust claims. Shermer ignored numerous specific points made by Weber, and was vague about precisely when and where Jews were supposedly gassed, even at Auschwitz.

Shermer's "convergence of evidence" thesis is fundamentally flawed, Weber went on, because it can readily be used to "prove" claims, such as gasings at Dachau, that are now universally regarded

as untrue. Indeed, the evidence presented at Nuremberg for (mythical) gasings at Dachau, said Weber, is in some ways stronger than the evidence presented there for gasings at Auschwitz. To "prove" gasings at Dachau, Nuremberg prosecutors were at least able to point to the "gas chamber" itself, cite an official US congressional investigative report, and quote "eyewitness" testimony by former camp physician Dr. Franz Blaha.

The story of gasings at the Auschwitz I main camp has also changed, Weber pointed out. For years a room there was shown off to tourists as a homicidal "gas chamber" in its "original state." Now it is acknowledged to be a postwar "reconstruction." Claims of gasings there are played down ever more. Weber cited a recent issue of the French magazine *L'Express*, which reports that "everything" about this gas chamber "is false." (See: "Major French Magazine Acknowledges Auschwitz Gas Chamber Fraud," Jan.-Feb. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 23-24.)

Responding to Shermer's citation of wartime statements of Hans Frank, Weber pointed out that at the end of the war the former Governor General of Poland had turned over to the Allies his own detailed "service journal" (*Diensttagebuch*), confident that it would exonerate him. Moreover, Weber went on, Frank testified at Nuremberg that he did not know of any wartime German program or policy to exterminate Europe's Jews. (Testimony of April 18, 1946. IMT "blue series," vol. 12, pp. 17-19. See also: M. Weber, "The Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust," Summer 1992 *Journal*, p. 195.)

Frank explained to the Tribunal that he had been very concerned over persistent reports that Jews were being exterminated. He said that on one occasion, when a report reached him about killings of Jews at Belzec, he went to the site the next day. He spoke with Jews who were working there, and was unable to find evidence of killings.

On another occasion, in February 1944, he raised this matter in a conversation with Hitler. "My Führer, rumors about the extermination of the Jews will not be silenced. They are heard everywhere ... Tell me, my Führer, is there anything to it?" As Frank related, Hitler replied: "You can very well imagine that there are executions going on — of insurgents. Apart from that I do not know anything. Why don't you speak to Heinrich Himmler about it?" Himmler denied the extermination allegations, Frank said. (Incidentally, the statements by Frank, Goebbels and Himmler cited by Shermer were all dealt with in detail during the 1988 Zündel trial, particularly by prosecution witness Christopher Browning, defense attorney Doug Christie, and defense witnesses Faurisson, Irving and Weber. See: B. Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die?*

[Toronto: 1992], esp. pp. 93, 113-116, 130, 131, 208, 302, 336, 343-344, 369, 396, 405-409, 417.)

While conceding that many specific Holocaust claims are now known to be demonstrably untrue, Shermer does not hold anyone responsible for these falsehoods. In his 1994 *Skeptic* essay, he manifests a double standard: while quick to point to real or imagined errors of fact or interpretation by revisionists, he passes over in silence the numerous demonstrable historical falsehoods promoted by such groups as the ADL. In his *Skeptic* essay Shermer casts aspersions on the allegedly sinister motives of revisionists, while treating anti-revisionists as high-minded scholars of good will. In short, he questions the motives only of critics of the Holocaust story.

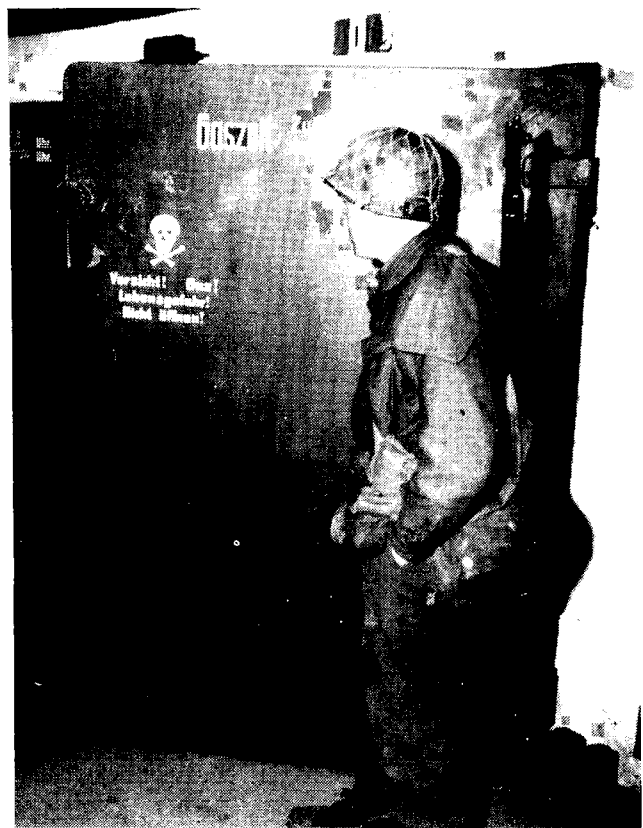
Weber cited a recent letter by Michael Berenbaum, research director of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. From Australia came this question: "Why don't you have homicidal gas chambers and/or some crematorium ovens on display in your large museum?" Berenbaum responded: "We do have crematoria ovens in the Museum. We could not bring over gas chambers because there was no original that was available for us to bring to the United States. Instead we made a model of the crematoria and labelled it a model." This is a remarkable statement, because until very recently, anyway, it was asserted that "original" homicidal gas chambers existed at Auschwitz, Mauthausen and Majdanek. (Berenbaum letter of April 21, 1995. *Adelaide Institute* newsletter, May 1995, pp. 5-6.)

Although claims of gassings at the Mauthausen camp have been played down in recent decades, it should not be forgotten that this was once authoritatively regarded as one of the most terrible German killing centers. As an example, Weber noted that, according to the 1957 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (vol. 10, p. 288), "close to two million people, mostly Jews, were exterminated between 1941 and 1945" in Mauthausen.

Referring to the mentality behind the seemingly ceaseless Holocaust campaign, Weber cited a statement by Abraham Foxman, national director of the Zionist Anti-Defamation League. (ADL *On the Frontline* newsletter, Jan. 1994, p. 2.) "The Holocaust," Foxman declared,

is a singular event. It is not simply one example of genocide but a near successful attempt on the life of God's chosen children and thus, on God himself.

It is an event that is the antithesis of Creation as recorded in the Bible; and like its direct opposite, which is relived weekly with the Sabbath and yearly with the Torah, it must be remembered from generation to generation.



Dachau "gas chamber" door. This official US Army photo was taken at Dachau on April 30, 1945, one day after the camp's liberation. It shows a GI standing in front of a door marked with a skull and crossbones. According to the official caption, "these chambers were used by the Nazi guards for killing prisoners of the infamous Dachau concentration camp." In fact, this is a small disinfection gas chamber used for delousing clothes, as part of the routine to curtail the spread of disease. This chamber was never used to kill people. For several decades, this photo has been widely reproduced to help keep alive the notorious Dachau "gas chamber" myth. A large blow-up of this photograph was on display at the Weber-Shermer debate.

While Shermer has described this Foxman statement merely as "an unfortunate choice of words" (*Skeptic*, June 1994, p. 33), it is actually "fortuitous," said Weber, because "it is refreshingly reveals the arrogant and bigoted mind-set of the ADL and, indeed, of much of the entire Holocaust campaign." He continued:

When such people say "Never Forget," they mean never: at no time, and until the end of time. Five years, twenty years, a hundred years from now, we will still be enduring a steady drumbeat of what is euphemistically

called "Holocaust education" ... This mentality helps explain why the Holocaust plays the quasi-religious role it does in our society.

As evidence both of the mentality of our adversaries, and of the progress that has been made in recent years. Weber cited the public declaration issued in February 1979 by 34 French scholars. "The question of how technically such a mass murder was possible should not be raised," they stated. "It was technically possible because it occurred.... There is not nor can there be a debate over the existence of the gas chambers." Today, and largely in response to revisionist skepticism, individuals such as van Pelt, Pressac and Shermer are earnestly investigating precisely this "question of how technically such a mass murder was possible."

Shermer Responds

When Shermer returned to the podium, he affirmed that it is "obviously" proper to ask such questions, adding that his own research shows that he rejects the 1979 French scholars' statement. During his recent visit to Europe, he asked numerous questions of officials at former camp sites in an effort to learn just how the "gas chambers" are supposed to have functioned.

During his visit to Mauthausen, Shermer said, officials there responded to his specific questions about the camp "gas chamber" with inadequate or contradictory explanations. He also conceded that there are problems with this facility. For one thing, the chamber's "doors don't lock." Shermer expressed the belief that homicidal gassings were conducted at Mauthausen "at most on a small scale and experimentally."

The Dachau "gas chamber" is a "non-issue," said Shermer, because no one now claims that anyone was ever gassed there. Surprisingly, though, he went on to give a few reasons why he thinks prisoners may indeed have been gassed there.

Bogus Majdanek Chamber

At the former Majdanek camp (near Lublin, Poland), Shermer said, he inspected a building that is shown off to tourists as a wartime killing facility, with a "big sign" identifying it as a homicidal gas chamber. This "reconstructed" chamber, he said, "makes no sense." Shermer said that he is "certain" that it was "not a homicidal gas chamber." He speculated that it might have been a non-homicidal delousing facility. (Such non-homicidal gas chambers, common in German camps, were installed to prevent deaths. They used Zyklon B, with poisonous hydrocyanic gas, to kill typhus-bearing lice in clothing.) Shermer ascribed the misrepresentation of this building to the "unprofessional" character of the staff there. "I suspect at Majdanek [that] if there were homicidal gassings, it was done on a small scale," he continued, albeit at other locations in the camp. He made no effort to defend the claim that one and half million people were killed at Majdanek.

Shermer also found problems with the "gas chambers" at Auschwitz. As he noted, it is frequently and authoritatively alleged that Zyklon B was dumped into Auschwitz-Birkenau "gas chambers" (at Kremas II and II) through ceiling-floor "wire mesh columns." However, Shermer said he was unable to find any on-site trace of these columns. "I am skeptical" of the wire mesh columns story, he said.

Eyewitness 'Testimony' of an Auschwitz Gas Chamber Survivor

On 25th December 1943, I was sick with typhus and was picked out at a selection made by doctors Mengele and Tauber along with about 350 other women. I was made to undress and taken by lorry to a gas chamber. There were seven gas chambers at Auschwitz. This particular one was underground and the lorry was able to run down the slope and straight into the chamber. Here we were tipped unceremoniously on the floor. The room was about 12 yards square and small lights on the wall dimly illuminated it. When the room was full a hissing sound was heard coming from the centre point on the floor and gas came into the room.

After what seemed about ten minutes some of the victims began to bite their hands and foam at the mouth, and blood issued from their ears, eyes and mouth, and their faces went blue. I suffered from all these symptoms, together with a tight feeling at the

throat. I was half conscious when my number was called out by Dr. Mengele and I was led from the chamber.

I attribute my escape to the fact that the daughter of a friend of mine who was an Aryan and a doctor at Auschwitz had seen me being transported to the chamber and had told her mother, who immediately appealed to Dr. Mengele. Apparently he realized that as a political prisoner I was of more value alive than dead, and I was released.

— From the deposition of Regina Bialek, a 28-year-old Polish woman. This postwar affidavit was entered as prosecution evidence in the British military court trial at Lüneburg, Sept.-Nov. 1945, of former Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen camp personnel. Published in: Raymond Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)* (London: William Hodge, 1949), p. 657.

Ongoing Revisionism

"For traditional Jewish historians," Shermer said, the gas chambers are important because they are "what makes the Holocaust unique over other Holocausts." In Shermer's view, "the Holocaust is only unique in the sense of being contingently unique, as all historical events are ... There's nothing unique about states killing masses of people — it's been done for thousands of years."

Acknowledging that many specific Holocaust claims have been abandoned over the years, Shermer affirmed: "Clearly revision has been going on." Over the years, he said, the Holocaust "story has been refined hundreds of percentage points," and has been revised "umpteen times." "How is it that some people can get away, so to speak, with revising the Holocaust?,"

Shermer asked, while revisionists cannot? In our society, he said, it all "depends on who is doing the asking."

"The problem you're having as revisionists," he went on, "is that you've been labeled ... the assumption is that there's an ideology behind the questions you've been asking." Revisionist statements, no matter how factual and truthful, are simply dismissed. "You've been labeled," said Shermer of Holocaust revisionists, and a pejorative "label has stuck there."

"The Holocaust *will be* revised," Shermer stressed, by "van Pelt and others ... but they'll get away with it because they're not associated with any ideology, and that's the problem you're encountering. I'm not going to impute ideological motives to any particular person here. I'm just saying that that's the perception out there amongst non-revisionists, and that's the problem you're running into."

Final Remarks

One member of audience — an African-American journalist and television writer — was bothered by the abrupt and facile way that Shermer had acknowledged that a "gas chamber" shown to tourists at Majdanek is a fraud. During the concluding question and answer session, he asked the *Skeptic* editor-publisher if he isn't offended by the fact that a "gas chamber" is deceitfully presented to tourists at Majdanek with a sign that is "so patently untrue." While Shermer was willing to call this sign "not appropriate" and to say that it constitutes a



Weber and Shermer converse during a break at the Holocaust debate sponsored by the Institute for Historical Review.

"danger," he did not seem particularly bothered by this fraud.

Shermer seemed similarly unconcerned over the ideological or religious agenda that obviously drives much of the Holocaust campaign — a campaign that portrays all of non-Jewish humanity as collectively guilty for what is regarded as the most terrible crime in history. With the passage of time, said Weber, and as ever more historical evidence comes to light, the Holocaust story diminishes in magnitude. At the same time, he went on, the Holocaust campaign continues — if anything, growing ever more intense with the passage of years.

In our society, the Holocaust story is treated with special reverence. It is simply not permissible to view the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War with the same critical, open-minded consideration with which we look at other chapters of history. Consequently, revisionist skeptics are not only dismissed but smeared and vilified, and, in some countries, treated as criminals.

'Politically Correct' Skepticism

Shermer's *Skeptic* magazine, Weber said, safely takes aim at phony UFO sightings, fraudulent health cures, Uri Geller spoon-bending tricks, witchcraft trials in centuries gone by, and so forth. In short, said Weber, it practices "PC skepticism." This kind of skepticism takes no particular courage. "The real challenge" for sincerely open-minded skeptics, said Weber, "is to challenge statements made by governments."

Weber addressed the argument by Shermer and

van Pelt that the alleged "gas chambers" at Auschwitz-Birkenau crematory facilities II and III were originally designed and constructed as normal morgue cellars in 1942, and only later (in late 1942 or early 1943) modified or transformed into homicidal gassing facilities. Van Pelt believes that a decision to kill Auschwitz prisoners in gas chambers was made in the summer of 1941, while other "exterminationists" contend that this decision was made in early 1942.

In either case, this thesis makes not sense, said Weber. Why would the Germans design and construct Kremas II-V at Birkenau — the cornerstone of the Holocaust extermination story — as ordinary, non-homicidal crematory facilities in late 1942 and early 1943, that is, *after* the Germans had supposedly already inaugurated their extermination policy.

Furthermore, Weber said, the crematories at Auschwitz (and especially Auschwitz-Birkenau), with their limited cremation capacities, simply were not designed to dispose of the bodies of many hundreds of thousands of prisoners. In short, the Auschwitz crematories were not planned or built consistent with a plan or policy to exterminate prisoners in the camp. (See: A. Butz, "Some Thoughts on Pressac's Opus," May-June 1993 *Journal*, pp. 23-37.)

Finally, Weber responded to a question about the "bloodcurdling" remarks of high-ranking German officials quoted earlier by Shermer. While these statements do reflect a policy of brutal repression, Weber said, they do not refer to a policy to exterminate Europe's Jews. These remarks are either rhetorical exaggeration or are taken out of context.

Several of those who attended the Weber-Shermer exchange commented that it was not much of a debate because Shermer made so many concessions to the revisionists. In any case, this event was a big step forward for the cause of historical revisionism because it dramatically gave the lie to the often-repeated claim that "the Holocaust" is "undebatable," and showed that the revisionist view of the Holocaust story is one that cannot be dismissed out of hand.

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The Weber-Shermer Debate: A Step Forward

by Pat N. Mason, Jr., Grapevine, Texas

When I first learned of the debate between IHR Director Mark Weber and *Skeptic* magazine editor-publisher Dr. Michael Shermer, I was delighted that a member of the "accepted media" had finally agreed publicly to confront Holocaust revisionist arguments. Viewing the event on videotape, I was even more pleased at the cordial and scholarly atmosphere that characterized the exchange. Both Shermer and Weber behaved respectfully in presenting their conflicting views of the treatment of Europe's Jews during World War II.

Interestingly, Shermer said that he cared little for what others might think of his "heresy" in rubbing elbows with the hated "deniers," adding that he had no fear of retribution that might cost him his livelihood — a confidence that is rare even among some revisionists.

Without doubt, the most striking and pleasant feature was the cogent and unemotional way the two sides exchanged information and presented their views. No shouting, pushing or hysterical accusations — just a calm and reasoned exchange between two intelligent men, the way any legitimate debate should be. As we know, this treatment is regrettably rare — very rare — when the "Holocaust" is the topic of discussion.

Although Dr. Shermer mentioned "being a little nervous" addressing the mostly revisionist audience, he was treated cordially. Typically, the revisionists showed restraint and respect for the opposition. There was one brief glitch, though. At one point a member of the audience interrupted Shermer with an aside in a manner that could be described as mildly rude. He quickly and properly chastised him for the interruption, and then continued.

At this point I could not help but recall that revisionists such as Robert Faurisson or David Irving have borne the brunt of savage personal attacks for expressing their views. From vicious epithets continuously shouted during their presentations, to rampaging mobs overturning tables and ripping up books, both of these men (and especially Faurisson) have had to endure not just assaults against their dignity, but even physical attacks. (On September 16, 1989, Faurisson was assaulted for the seventh time in a broad daylight attack during which he was almost beaten to death.)

As for the debate itself, I found Weber, as always, to be factual and precise with his information. It was not difficult to glean that he was the authoritative source of Holocaust information. Dr. Shermer,

although a bright and pleasant man who had some interesting insights, showed himself to be little more than a hobbyist in his approach to this issue. His main arguments also seemed a bit superficial. For instance, he relies heavily on "testimony evidence," which time and again has proven to be unreliable and/or foggy at best.

Shermer belabored his point about the significance and real meaning of the German word "*ausrotten*." This has always seemed to be a cute topic for tea-time discussion, but not really relevant. He concluded (and I'm paraphrasing here) that "*ausrotten* means *ausrotten* ... to exterminate." Shermer also fell back on a favorite argument of Holocaust historians in citing a passing remark by Goebbels in a diary entry, a passage by Himmler from a speech, and a statement by Frank, and then concluding that similarities in these statements prove a definite conspiracy by the German hierarchy to physically annihilate Europe's Jews.

On several occasions, and to his credit, Shermer honestly (although apparently with some embarrassment) conceded either a lack of knowledge about specific historical issues, or made major concessions to the revisionists on key points of Holocaust dogma. Additionally, he cited "new evidence" compiled by Holocaust researcher Robert-Jan Van Pelt, which affirms that although Auschwitz was not intended to be a "death camp" in the beginning, it somehow "became" one. When Shermer sought to support this theory with some sort of psychobabble, I felt that he strayed from the role of logical scholar to that of dutiful believer. Whatever the validity of such conjectural arguments, though, they are no match for the abundant physical evidence, including the independent forensic studies, the wartime aerial reconnaissance photos, and so forth.

Shermer referred to pipes in a shower room at the Mauthausen camp that is shown to tourists as an execution "gas chamber." Asserting that these pipes carried steam to heat the room, he posed the question: "What else [other than homicidal purposes] could that mean? Why would you want to heat a shower room?" Well, how about to keep whoever was showering from getting cold, maybe, or because whoever plumbed the building cared nothing for esthetics and left the pipes exposed, or a myriad of other reasonable explanations.

Anywhere else, a few pipes in a shower room would be just *pipes*. If Shermer takes a shower after one of his 20K bike races, and sees heating pipes on the wall, I doubt that he'd bolt from the shower room screaming about gassing. In former Nazi camps, though, they are "proof" of murder. As a result of some 50 years of hysterical anti-Nazi propaganda, promoted by those whose personal hatred or ideological agenda blinds them to their own delu-

sions, everything in the former German camps is suspect, no matter how trivial or insignificant.

Actually, my attitude toward the Holocaust has been similar to Shermer's. That is, for a long time it held no special fascination for me, much less did it prompt guilt-ridden hand wringing. But then, what began as an innocent interest in ambiguous details about a much-discussed chapter of history grew into an intense craving for historical truth, fired with growing anger toward those who embrace tyrannical suppression masquerading as noble indignation.

It would be one thing if Jews around the world quietly believed various bizarre "Holocaust" claims, used their own money to build Holocaust monuments and memorial institutions, and taught their children whatever lessons they deem appropriate, while leaving the rest of us alone. But that is not what happens. Instead, a ceaseless campaign seeks to instill in all non-Jews a collective guilt for an alleged crime for which they are not in the least guilty. Whatever responsibility Jews may have for this campaign, non-Jews are certainly culpable for buying into it. While organizations such as the ADL and the Simon Wiesenthal Center do their best to slander and silence revisionists, aiding and abetting them are non-Jewish political and religious leaders and other prominent figures who do so out of self-interest.

Does this sound nutty or "extremist?" Anyone who thinks so such listen carefully to an hour of Elie Wiesel. Even though this professional survivor is treated as a kind of living saint, his self-righteousness and horror stories have become embarrassingly ridiculous. Even more culpable than Wiesel are those who swallow such bombastic bilge. This unchallenged adherence to dogma always reminds me of John Burroughs' words: "It is easier to believe than to deny. Our minds are naturally affirmative."

Michael Shermer deserves a hearty "bravo" for graciously agreeing to participate in this IHR-sponsored debate, and for upholding the right of all Americans, including revisionists, to disagree, question, and contend. Although he still upholds the pro-Holocaust position, his performance in the debate shows that he is simply not familiar with the massive documentation and other evidence compiled by revisionist researchers. If Shermer is sincerely interested in getting to the bottom of this issue, and if he can maintain a scholarly attitude, he will be unable indefinitely to deny revisionist arguments and the overwhelming evidence.

All in all, I thought that the Weber-Shermer debate was very good, and can be considered a great step forward in righting the wrongs perpetrated by Holocaust falsehoods. There is no doubt that Holocaust revisionism lacks only public exposure for success.

A New Threat to Freedom of Speech

Canadian Jewish Congress Threatens Journalist for Holocaust Heresy

Attempt to Silence Collins Fails

Few North American writers have come under more sustained attack for outspoken and often unorthodox views than Doug Collins, an acclaimed British-born Canadian author and journalist who writes a popular column for the *North Shore News* of North Vancouver, British Columbia. Every journalist understands that criticism comes with the job. But the relentless campaign to silence Collins includes legal measures with ominous significance for all defenders of free speech and unfettered historical inquiry.

In July 1994 the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) brought a formal complaint against Collins, charging him with violating British Columbia's amended "Human Rights Act." According to the broadly-worded 1993 amendment to the Act, "no person shall publish ... any notice, sign, symbol ... that indicates discrimination against a person or a group or class of person ... or is likely to expose a person or a group to hatred or contempt." As Collins notes, this law "covers the waterfront, the key words being 'indicate' and 'is likely'." There is no limit to the fine that can be imposed on violators.

One local City Council member publicly expressed the hope that the newly amended Act would "put a stop to the kind of writing Doug Collins does." Considering that the new law was promptly dubbed the "Kill Collins Act," it's not surprising that he was the first person charged under it. "I had the honor," Collins wryly observed, "of being the first columnist in Canadian history to be hauled before a Human Rights Council on a charge of political incorrectness."

Accusing Collins of anti-Jewish "Holocaust denial," the CJC specifically complained about a March 1994 column he had written about the much-hyped movie "Schindler's List," which he called "Swindler's List." (This column was reprinted in the May-June 1994 *Journal*.) Says Collins: "You gotta love their movie and the people who made it, you see. Otherwise it's off to the dungeons."

Laying down operative guidelines for the "politically correct," Canadian Jewish Congress official Bernie Farber declared: "Holocaust denial is anti-Semitic hate speech subject to the laws of Canada

and the human rights provisions of the BC Human Rights Code. Hate speech is not free speech and should never be tolerated in a free and democratic society." (*Financial Post*, Dec. 17, 1994)

Joining the CJC action, a Jewish businessman named Harry Abrams last summer filed two new complaints against Collins for violations of the Human Rights Code, charging that the columnist had incited hatred and contempt against Jews, Iranians, Chinese, Sikhs and Japanese.

Thoughtful Criticism

The Collins affair has been receiving some country-wide attention, much of it critical of the CJC action and the provincial law. Canada's most influential daily, the *Toronto Globe & Mail*, commented in an editorial: "We are witnessing a bid to criminalize certain types of speech, but without actually using the criminal law to do it."

One of Canada's most influential journalists, Peter Worthington, told readers of his widely-read *Toronto Sun* column (Feb. 9, 1995) that the CJC action against Collins is "wrong, foolish and an affront to free speech." He continued:

I suspect what bugs Collins is what also bugs me — how we seem so concerned about what happened to Jews in World War II, but seem too casual (if not callous) about other holocausts, which surface in the media briefly, then fade from memory ... Having been victims of racism and hate, I think influential and respected organizations like the CJC should be especially wary about calling names and ascribing motives to others that may be wrong.

The Publisher, the voice of the Canadian Community Newspapers Association, warned in an editorial (Dec. 1994) that "everyone involved with newspapers — producers and readers alike — should be concerned with" the Collins/ CJC case. While Collins "expresses strong views, and is far from politically correct," the editorial continued, he "does not write hate literature." British Columbia's amended Human Rights Act "opens any Canadian to persecution by anyone who disagrees with the

opinions expressed."

Not one to meekly submit to pressure, Collins is defiantly fighting back. The Canadian Jewish Congress "and its allied organizations," he charges, are "our biggest threat to free speech ... The CJC complaint is a direct attack on freedom of the press."

Collins looks forward to a full-scale legal and media clash, anticipating that the CJC challenge and the "Human Rights Act" cannot survive the public scrutiny and ridicule that will inevitably accompany a well-publicized legal battle. As we go to press, this matter has still not been brought to court.

Collins' Record

In view of his record, especially during World War II, the effort by Jewish groups to portray Collins as some kind of "neo-Nazi" is simply absurd. After joining the British army as a volunteer at the age of 19, he served as an infantry sergeant in 1940 in France, where he was captured. He was later awarded the Military Medal "for bravery in the field" fighting Germans at Dunkirk.

Escaping from prisoner of war camp Stalag VIIIB in Silesia, he stealthily made his way to Hungary. After being captured there, he made another daring escape, this time making his way to Romania. He was imprisoned once again, but when Romania capitulated in 1944, he was freed and returned to Britain. After re-joining the military, he served in the final months' military campaign in northwest Europe. Following demobilization in 1946, he joined the British Control Commission in occupied Germany. He moved to Canada in 1952.

Collins' journalistic record is equally impressive. Recipient of two of Canada's most coveted awards for journalism, his career has included work, both as a reporter and commentator, for several major Canadian daily papers, and on television and radio. He is also the author of several books. His presentation at the Tenth IHR Conference, "Reflections on the Second World War, Free Speech and Revisionism," was published in the Fall 1991 *Journal*. (It is also available on audio and video tape from the IHR. See also "Doug Collins Under New Fire," in the



Doug Collins' smiling face is featured in large promotional ads placed on city buses by the *North Shore News* of British Columbia.

Nov.-Dec. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 43-46).

It's difficult to be neutral about Collins. While some detest him, many admire him as an eloquent voice for Canada's "silent majority." His twice-weekly column is a very popular feature of the *North Shore News*. In vigorous, straight-forward prose, he lays out well-informed but common-sense views on the country's most heated issues, including immigration, the status of Quebec, and special privilege "rights."

During a brief appearance in a recent CBS television "60 Minutes" report, he expressed opposition to Canada's open door policy, which has brought a large influx of Chinese to Vancouver, dramatically transforming British Columbia's cultural and racial character.

Heated Press Council Hearing

Last year Collins survived a serious threat to his career. Lionel Kenner, a former philosophy professor and Jewish community activist, was so upset by several of Collins' 1993 and 1994 columns that he filed a formal complaint with the British Columbia Press Council, a quasi-judicial tribunal that oversees the media. (These columns were reprinted in the *Journal*, Nov.-Dec. 1993 and May-June 1994.)

On the basis of this complaint, Collins and Kenner were called to a formal hearing of the Press Council on July 24. Kenner told the panel that "it is a long-standing practice of Mr. Collins to mislead his readers," and charged that the *North Shore News* editor and publisher "have either knowingly

colluded with Collins in the publishing of deliberate lies or alternatively they have carelessly published deliberate lies."

In a meeting room packed with dozens of ardent supporters, Collins defended his writings and the principle of free speech. He displayed ten books he had consulted in writing his columns on the Holocaust issue, including Dr. Butz' *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, and he spoke about his own visit to Auschwitz.

Collins explained that while he does not deny the Holocaust, he does "question the six millions story" and has "doubts about the alleged gas chambers." He also stressed, "I'm not in any way sympathetic to the Nazi regime."

Kenner's complaint, said Collins, "is totally in line with the views and wishes of the Canadian Jewish Congress, a pressure group that is prominent in the propagandizing of what is known as the Holocaust." Several times the room broke into loud applause for Collins, who concluded his remarks by quoting George Orwell: "Freedom of speech is my right to say what you don't want to hear."

In its ruling, issued in late October, the Press Council reproached Collins. It found that he had "misled" readers by inadequately quoting sources in one of his columns, thus breaching the Council's code of practice. At the same time, though, the Council did not conclude that Collins had lied, nor did it instruct Collins or the newspaper to issue a correction or apology. It went to state: "The code's accuracy provisions must not be narrowly applied here because Mr. Collins was engaging in the expression of opinion, not writing a news story, and enjoyed the widest possible latitude ... Unpopular or controversial voices must be challenged but never silenced."

Specifically, the Press Council declared that it does "not condemn Mr. Collins or the *News* for exercising their constitutional right of free expression." In some news reports published about the decision, this salient point was not mentioned.

While he has survived this latest threat, Collins' enemies remain implacable and determined. The struggle continues.

The IHR Needs Your Help

Only with the sustained help of friends can the Institute for Historical Review carry on its vital mission of promoting truth in history. If you agree that the work of our Institute is important, *please support it with your generous donation!*

On the Front Line for Free Speech and Open Historical Inquiry

DOUG COLLINS

The Press Council Decision

[From the *North Shore News*, Oct. 22, 1995]

Here's a shot from the battle front and the British Columbia Press Council decision that "in part" upholds the complaints made by my Jewish friend Lionel Kenner concerning a column I wrote two years ago.

The piece was headed "The Story Keeps Changing," a reference to the numbers lost in the "holocaust." [Reprinted in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 10-11.] In it, I gave a two-line mention to a report put out (I said) by the International Red Cross in the 1970s that estimated 300,000 or so as the number of deaths in the concentration camps. I did not claim that that was the true figure, only that it was one of many. Hence the headline.

The Council conceded that I accepted the report in good faith, but stated that Kenner has provided information from the IRC that "unequivocally refutes the authenticity of those reports as being genuine Red Cross documents." Kenner provided no such proof at the hearing even though he had had two years in which to do so. Over my objections, however, the Council granted him five weeks to come up with something *after* the hearing. It would have been proper on the Council's part, I think, to give *me* another five weeks in which to provide a rebuttal. But it didn't.

The report in question came from the International Tracing Service (ITS) at Arolsen in West Germany. It exists, and is not a "fake," as reported by the scumrag Vancouver *Province*. Nor did the Press Council use that expression. The issue is whether the ITS is officially part of the International Red Cross in Geneva. Well, at the second Zündel trial in 1988 witness Charles Biedermann stated that he was the International Red Cross director of the ITS, and that the Red Cross "took over its administration in 1955." That might mean the service is not, technically, part of the Red Cross. But that's to split hairs.

It has been claimed, too, that the Red Cross came under tremendous pressure from Jewish sources when the 300,000 figure was published, and has done its best to play it down. Subsequent reports (not in my possession when I wrote the col-

umn) pointed out that the figure should not be taken to mean all deaths in the concentration camps. But — to repeat — I never said it did. The figure related to inquiries from relatives about deaths in the camps. So my question is: if there were 6,000,000 Jewish deaths, how come only 300,000 inquiries were made?

The Council criticized me for not using a full quote from Jewish academic Arno Mayer [Princeton University history professor]. Mayer wrote a book [*Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The "Final Solution" in History*] in which he said that sources on the gas chambers "are at once rare and unreliable." He went on to say that while there was no denying "the many contradictions and ambiguities in the existing sources, they were insufficient to put in doubt ... the use of gas chambers in the mass murder of Jews at Auschwitz."

In that case, I was not writing an article on Mayer's book but a letter to the editor, and letters to the editor have to be kept short. Furthermore, "rare and unreliable" was the bottom line of what he had to say.

The column itself used many sources — hence its "Story Keeps Changing" headline — and referred to Winston Churchill's having made no mention of any holocaust or gas chambers in his six-volume war memoirs.

The second Council criticism related to Holocaust expert Yehuda Bauer's report in the *New York Times* [Nov. 12, 1989] that "the larger figures (of those who died in Auschwitz) have been dismissed for years, except that it hasn't reached the public yet." The Council faulted me for not specifying that Bauer was referring only to Auschwitz. But that's nit-picking.

Auschwitz had always been painted as the main death camp, with 4,000,000 deceased. Bauer knew that was nonsense, and the Polish government has since reduced the figure to something over 1,000,000. Jean Claude Pressac, a prominent "pro-holocaust" writer, now puts it at 750,000. As I told the Council, if you radically reduce the Auschwitz figure, as Bauer did, the 6,000,000 figure also falls by the wayside, even if allowances are made for not all of the alleged victims having been Jews.

A pointer to these criticisms being small stuff is that the Council refused to order the *North Shore News* to publish corrections or apologies. Not much of a return from a 40,000 word (!) complaint.

Onward and upward, comrades.

"Nothing great was ever achieved without enthusiasm."

— Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Circles*

Canadian Liberties Under Attack

[From the *North Shore News*, Sept. 27, 1995]

Let's give the North Vancouver District Public Library a medal. And while we are at it let's give Councillor Ernie Crist a medal, too. Here's why.

Some weeks ago Crist got a resolution through council deploring attacks on freedom of speech. And there's no need, I hope, to remind you who is mounting those attacks. Council agreed to ask the Union of British Columbia Municipalities convention to endorse the United Nations' principle of "upholding and defending freedom of expression, freedom of the press, and intellectual freedom."

I wrote a column about Crist's move, and (Bingo!) he began to get calls. There were references to the villain of the piece (me) and the usual double-talk: "I'm in favor of freedom of speech, but ..." But nothing. We either have it or we don't. And right now we have it only at considerable risk. Jail and fines loom for those who "go too far."

Some of the callers were miffed that the North Van library has copies of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* and *Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist*, by Bradley Smith. Both dispute the six-million story. The first, especially, is a deeply researched effort by Professor Arthur Butz of the US that took him seven years to write. And both have been reviewed in this space.

Thanks to the usual anti-free speech artists, these books and others like it are banned in Canada. So if the Customs people notice them at the border or wherever it is that they carry out their vital tasks, they won't be delivered. But possession as such is not a crime. I have copies of both.

After receiving the complaints, Crist asked the library whether it had a policy on such books. He didn't want to support something that might be ille-



Doug Collins

gal but made it clear that if it *was* illegal he would ask the library to take the books off the shelf. And then start a campaign to get the law changed.

B.G. Thompson of the library's adult collections section was well aware that some people would like to see such books banned, but came back with this answer:

The library supports the view that materials in our collection should represent, as far as possible, a wide range of opinions and different sides of controversial issues. For this reason, library collections will include items which some individuals may consider to be unconventional, unpopular, or unacceptable.

To the best of our knowledge, the two titles in question are the only volumes in the collection which deny or question the significance of the Holocaust. By contrast, the library carries at least 145 titles (books and videos) which aver the Holocaust as an unquestioned historical event.

We do not endorse every idea found in the collection, but we do believe that the public should be given the opportunity to make its own assessment of controversial materials. For the foregoing reason, and despite the Canada Customs' ruling regarding importation, it is the library's decision that the books at issue should remain on the shelves.

Couldn't have put it better myself. I said almost exactly the same thing at the famous Press Council hearing at which Lionel Kenner of North Van held me up as a sinner.

It remains, however, that some people ("I like free speech, but...") cannot tolerate the slightest deviation from what they consider to be Holy Writ. The Spanish Inquisition thought the same way.

It is pleasant to record that the Canadian Library Association also has a policy on intellectual freedom. It reads in part as follows:

All persons in Canada have the fundamental rights, as embodied in the nation's Bill of Rights and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, to have access to all expressions of knowledge, creativity and intellectual activity, and to express their thoughts publicly. This right to intellectual freedom, under the law, is essential to the health and development of Canadian society.

Let's hope someone tells the NDP [New Democratic Party] and the Canadian Jewish Congress about that. Let's hope someone tells the NDP [New Democratic Party] and the Canadian Jewish Congress about that.

Thousands Check Out IHR Material

Internet Web Site Offers Instant Worldwide Access to Revisionism

Through his personal Internet Web site, *Journal* associate editor Greg Raven makes available an impressive selection of material from the Institute for Historical Review, including IHR *Journal* articles and reviews and IHR leaflets. A listing of every item that has ever appeared in this *Journal* enables callers to quickly search for titles and authors. New Web site items are added as time permits.

This revisionist material is instantly available to millions around the world, free of censorship by governments or powerful special interest groups. It can be reached 24 hours a day from 146 countries through the World Wide Web (WWW), a multimedia Internet service.

Each month about two thousand people in dozens of countries visit this Web site, with the average caller viewing 12 files (or articles) per visit. Because it is linked to several other revisionist (and anti-revisionist) Web sites, visitors can easily access vast amounts of additional information.

The Web site address for IHR material is

<http://www.kaiwan.com/~ihrgreg>

E-mail messages should be sent to the IHR in care of ihrgreg@kaiwan.com



"What arguments can I find by Maimonides and Rabbi Eleazar ben Shimon to oppose Zündel?" A cartoon in the French weekly *Rivarol* (Feb. 2, 1996) pokes fun at Jewish frustration over the remarkable Internet impact of revisionists such as German-Canadian Ernst Zündel.

"A word wounds more easily than it heals."

— Goethe

'The Jewish World' Against Pressac

As *Journal* readers know, Jean-Claude Pressac is a French pharmacist who has been used by the French "Nazi hunters" Serge and Beate Klarsfeld in their campaign against the Holocaust revisionists. Their relationship has been confirmed by Michael Berenbaum, Director of the Research Institute of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. In the 1994 book *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (p. xiii), Berenbaum writes: "Since 1982, the work of Mr. Pressac has been promoted and supported on a documentary, editorial and financial level by the Beate Klarsfeld Foundation..."

When Pressac's 210-page book, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: La Machinerie du meurtre de masse* ("The Crematories of Auschwitz: The Machinery of Mass Killing") was published in 1993, leading newspapers and magazines around the world immediately praised it as the definitive response to revisionist arguments. For example, an Associated Press article that appeared in a number of American newspapers told readers that, according to "Holocaust experts," this book "will provide irrefutable proof to combat those who claim the Holocaust ... didn't happen." Similarly, *Newsweek* magazine called Pressac's work a "dramatic rebuttal" of revisionist views (Dec. 20, 1993), and noted that "Holocaust experts have hailed his work as definitive." (See the Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*, p. 23, and the July-August 1994 *Journal*, pp. 28 ff.)

In 1994, Robert Faurisson published *Réponse à Jean-Claude Pressac sur le problème des chambres à gaz* ("Response to Jean-Claude Pressac on the problem of the gas chambers"). Pressac's book, Faurisson wrote, had no scholarly value, lacked sources, included numerous misrepresentations and distortions, and seemed like the work of a novelist.

A German version of Faurisson's *Réponse*, supplemented with contributions by Ernst Gauss, Manfred Köhler, Serge Thion and Carlo Mattogno, has recently been published under the title *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* ("Auschwitz: Naked Facts"), by VHO, Postbus 60, 2600 Berchem 2, Belgium.

For writing his *Réponse*, Faurisson was immediately dragged into court, found guilty, and sentenced. The dramatic high point of the trial was the cross-examination on May 9, 1995, of Pressac himself, who had been subpoenaed as a witness by Faurisson. Unable to answer the questions put to him by defense attorney Eric Delcroix, Pressac collapsed on the witness stand. (See "French Court Fines Faurisson, Roques for 'Holocaust Denial' Book," Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 13-17).

Now Pressac seems to have been entirely abandoned by his former friends. In a recent issue of the

leading French-Jewish intellectual journal, *Le Monde juif* ("The Jewish World"), published in Paris by the "Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation," he comes under devastating criticism from Jewish scholar Maurice Cling. (*Le Monde juif*, Jan.-April 1996, pp. 192-196).

Commenting on just one page of Pressac's *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz*, Cling uses these words: "... doctored text ... does not give his source ... no source cited ... no source ... substitution ... no mention of any source ... dubious use of a text ... evidence of an indisputable literary talent ... concealment of sources ... distortion of the original text ... wild imaginings ... hypocrisy ... absurd affirmation."

Then comes the most serious accusation: Pressac is a disciple of Faurisson. Because Pressac once knew Faurisson, and allegedly "converted" from revisionism to anti-revisionism, he was therefore supposedly well-suited to refute revisionist arguments. In fact, says Faurisson, Pressac was *never* a revisionist. If there is one author whom Faurisson (unlike some revisionists) has never spared, it is the suburban pharmacist.



Commenting on the vitality of Holocaust revisionism in France — in spite of laws restricting free historical inquiry, vicious media attacks and even violence by Jewish terrorist groups — is this cartoon by "chard" in the French paper *Rivarol*, April 7, 1995. "And don't go to see the revisionists!," says French-Jewish anti-revisionist attorney and publisher Serge Klarsfeld to "truth," as she takes off on her own.

Zionism's Violent Legacy

DONALD NEFF

It was 48 years ago, on January 4, 1948, when Jewish terrorists drove a truck loaded with explosives into the center of the all Arab city of Jaffa and detonated it, killing 26 and wounding around 100 Palestinian men, women and children.¹ The attack was the work of the *Irgun Zvai Leumi* — the “National Military Organization,” also known by the Hebrew letters *Etzel* — the largest Jewish terrorist group in Palestine. The Irgun was headed by Revisionist Zionist Menachem Begin and had been killing and maiming Arabs, Britons and even Jews for the previous ten years in its efforts to establish a Jewish state.

This terror campaign meant that at the core of Revisionist Zionism there existed a philosophical embrace of violence. It was this legacy of violence that contributed to the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on November 4, 1995.

The Irgun was not the only Jewish terrorist group but it was the most active in causing indiscriminate terror in pre-Israel Palestine. Up to the time of the Jaffa attack, its most spectacular feat had been the July 22, 1946, blowing up of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, with the killing of 91 people — 41 Arabs, 28 Britons and 17 Jews.²

The other major Jewish terrorist group operating in Palestine in the 1940s was the *Lohamei Herut Israel* — “Fighters for the Freedom of Israel,” *Lehi* in the Hebrew acronym — also known as the Stern Gang after its fanatical founder Avraham Stern. Two of its more spectacular outrages included the assassination of British Colonial Secretary Lord Moyne in Cairo on November 6, 1944, and the assassination of Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden in Jerusalem on September 17, 1948.³

Both groups collaborated in the massacre at Deir Yassin, in which some 254 Palestinian men, women and children were slain on April 9, 1948. Palestinian survivors were driven like ancient slaves through the streets of Jerusalem by the celebrating terrorists.⁴

Donald Neff is author of the recently published *Fallen Pillars: U.S. Policy Towards Palestine and Israel Since 1945* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1995), as well as of the 1988 trilogy, *Warriors at Suez: Eisenhower Takes America Into the Middle East in 1956*, *Warriors for Jerusalem: The Six Days that Changed the Middle East*, and *Warriors Against Israel: America Comes to the Rescue*. This article is reprinted from the January 1996 issue of *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (P.O. Box 53062, Washington, DC 20009).

Yitzhak Shamir was one of the three leaders of *Lehi* who made the decision to assassinate Moyne and Bernadotte. Both he and Begin later became prime ministers and ruled Israel for a total of 13 years between 1977 and 1992. They were both leaders of Revisionist Zionism, that messianic group of ultranationalists founded by Vladimir Zeev Jabotinsky in the 1920s. He prophesied that it would take an “iron wall of Jewish bayonets” to gain a homeland among the Arabs in Palestine.⁵ His followers took his slogan literally.

Begin and the Revisionists were heartily hated by the mainline Zionists led by David Ben-Gurion. He routinely referred to Begin as a Nazi and compared him to Hitler. In a famous letter to *The New York Times* in 1948, Albert Einstein called the Irgun “a terrorist, rightwing, chauvinist organization” that stood for “ultranationalism, religious mysticism and racial superiority.”⁶ He opposed Begin’s visit to the United States in 1949 because Begin and his movement amounted to “a Fascist party for whom terrorism (against Jews, Arabs, and British alike), and misrepresentation are means, and a ‘leader state’ is the goal,” adding:

The IZL [Irgun] and Stern groups inaugurated a reign of terror in the Palestine Jewish community. Teachers were beaten up for speaking against them, adults were shot for not letting their children join them. By gangster methods, beatings, window smashing, and widespread robberies, the terrorists intimidated the population and exacted a heavy tribute.

Ben-Gurion considered the Revisionists so threatening that shortly after he proclaimed establishment of Israel on May 14, 1948, he demanded that the Jewish terrorist organizations disband. In defiance, Begin sought to import a huge shipment of weapons aboard a ship named *Altalena*, Jabotinsky’s *nom de plume*.⁷

The ship was a war surplus US tank landing craft and had been donated to the Irgun by Hillel Kook’s Hebrew Committee for National Liberation, an American organization made up of Jewish-American supporters of the Irgun.⁸ Even in those days it was Jewish Americans who were the main source of funds for Zionism. While few of them emigrated to Israel, Jewish Americans were generous in financing the Zionist enterprise. As in Israel, they were split between mainstream Zionism and Revisionism. One of the best known Revisionists was Ben Hecht, the American newsman and playwright. After one of the Irgun’s terrorist acts, he wrote:⁹

The Jews of America are for you. You are their champions ... Every time you blow up a British arsenal, or wreck a British jail, or send a British railroad train sky high, or rob a British

bank, or let go with your guns and bombs at British betrayers and invaders of your homeland, the Jews of America make a little holiday in their hearts.

The *Altalena* was loaded with \$5 million worth of arms, including 5,000 British Lee Enfield rifles, more than three million rounds of ammunition, 250 Bren guns, 250 Sten guns, 150 German Spandau machine guns, 50 mortars and 5,000 shells as well as 940 Jewish volunteers. Ben-Gurion reacted with fury, ordering the ship sunk in Tel Aviv harbor. Shell fire by the new nation's armed forces set the *Altalena* afire, killing 14 Jews and wounding 69. Two regular army men were killed and six wounded during the fighting.¹⁰ Begin had been aboard but escaped injury. Later that night he railed against Ben-Gurion as "a crazy dictator" and the cabinet as "a government of criminal tyrants, traitors and fratricides."¹¹

Ben-Gurion's deputy commander in the *Altalena* affair was Yitzhak Rabin, the same man who as prime minister was assassinated by one of the spiritual heirs of Menachem Begin's Irgun terrorist group. All his life, and especially in his last years, Rabin had opposed Jewish Americans and their radical allies in Israel who continued to embrace the philosophy of the Irgun and who fought against the peace process, thereby earning their enduring hatred.

Thus at the heart of the Jewish state there has been a long and violent struggle between mainline Zionists and Revisionists that continues today. Despite cries after Rabin's assassination that it was unknown for Jew to kill Jew, intramural hatred and occasional violence have marked relations between Zionism's competing groups.

The core of that conflict, one that continues to divide Israel and its American supporters as well, lies in the different philosophies of David Ben-Gurion and Vladimir Jabotinsky. Both were from Eastern Europe, born in the 1880s, and both sought an exclusivist Jewish state. But while Ben-Gurion was pragmatic and secular, Jabotinsky was impatient and messianic, a leader who glorified in the heroic trappings of fascism. Ben-Gurion was usually willing to take less now to get more later, and thus he was content to accept partition of Palestine as a necessary stepping stone toward a larger Jewish state. Jabotinsky, on the other hand, impatiently preached the right of Jews not only to all of Palestine but to "both sides of the Jordan," meaning the combined area of Jordan and Palestine, or as he called it, *Eretz Yisrael*, the ancient land of Israel.¹²

Ben-Gurion was a gruff realist who carefully calculated his moves with a wary eye toward the inter-

ests of the great European powers and the United States. *Time* magazine, in a profile of Ben-Gurion in August 1948, described him as "premier and defense minister, labor leader and philosopher, hard-headed, unsociable and abrupt politician, a prophet who carries a gun."¹³ Wrote his biographer, Michael Bar-Zohar: "Obstinacy and total dedication to a single objective were the most characteristic traits of David Ben-Gurion."¹⁴

Jabotinsky, by contrast, was flamboyant and a devoted admirer of Italy's fascist leader Benito Mussolini. His disciple, Menachem Begin, described him as "a speaker, a writer, a philosopher, a statesman, a soldier, a linguist ... But to those of us who were his pupils, he was not only their teacher, but also the bearer of their hope." Begin's biographer, Eric Silver, added: "There was a darker side to [Jabotinsky's] philosophy: blood, fire and steel, the supremacy of the leader, discipline and ceremony, the manipulation of the masses, racial exclusivity as the heart of the nation."¹⁵ One of Jabotinsky's slogans was: "We shall create, with sweat and blood, a race of men, strong, brave and cruel."¹⁶

Jabotinsky died in 1940, and it was Menachem Begin who refined his wild nationalism into practical political action. Begin concluded: "The world does not pity the slaughtered. It only respects those who fight." He turned Descartes' famous dictum around, saying: "We fight, therefore we exist."¹⁷ Central to Begin's outlook was the concept of the "fighting Jew." As he wrote:¹⁸

Out of blood and fire and tears and ashes, a new specimen of human being was born, a specimen completely unknown to the world for over 1,800 years, the "FIGHTING JEW." It is axiomatic that those who fight have to hate We had to hate first and foremost, the horrify-



Baruch Goldstein wore a yellow Star of David with the German word for "Jew" to show his ardent concern for the "lessons of the Holocaust" and its meaning for all Jews. Today many hard-line Zionists revere this mass murderer of Palestinians as a Jewish hero and martyr.

ing, age-old, inexcusable utter defenselessness of our Jewish people, wandering through millennia, through a cruel world, to the majority of whose inhabitants the defenselessness of the Jews was a standing invitation to massacre them.

From these early leaders of Zionism (Ben-Gurion died in 1973 and Begin in 1992) have emerged their direct descendants in the Israeli political spectrum. Rabin and his successor, Shimon Peres, were both protégés of Ben-Gurion, and have carried on his mainstream secular Zionism. On Jabotinsky's and Begin's side, the followers have been Yitzhak Shamir, Ariel Sharon and, now, Bemoaning Netanyahu, the current leader of the Likud.

Rabin's Strategy

While the two major factions of Zionism disagree on tactics, their ultimate aim of maintaining a Jewish state free of non-Jews was the same. Rabin explained his strategy shortly before his death during an interview with Rowland Evans and Robert Novak:¹⁹

I believe that dreams of Jews for two thousand years to return to Zion were to build a Jewish state and not a binational state. Therefore I don't want to annex the 2.2 million Palestinians who are a different entity from us — politically, religiously, nationally — against their will to become Israelis. Therefore I see peaceful coexistence between Israel as a Jewish state — not all over the land of Israel, on most of it, its capital the united Jerusalem, its security border the Jordan River — next to it a Palestinian entity, less than a state, that runs the life of the Palestinians. It is not ruled by Israel. It is ruled by the Palestinians. This is my goal — not to return to the pre-Six-Day-War lines, but to create two entities. I want a separation between Israel and the Palestinians who reside in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and they will be a different entity that rules itself.

In the Revisionist's vocabulary, the goal was the same, if more expansionist and expressed in more direct and pugnacious words. Former Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, a leading spokesman of Zionism's right wing, commented in 1993: "Our forefathers did not come here in order to build a democracy but to build a Jewish state."²⁰

The occupation of all of Palestine, including Jerusalem, in the 1967 war and the coming to power a decade later of Menachem Begin gave a profound boost to Revisionism and its radical philosophy. During this period there arose the firebrand Meir Kahane, a Brooklyn-born rabbi who openly

espoused the removal of the Palestinians from all of Palestine. Under the influence of his fiery rhetoric, thousands of Orthodox Jewish Americans were encouraged to emigrate to Israel as settlers on occupied Palestinian land, adding to the radicalization of Israeli politics. After Kahane's assassination in New York in 1990 by an Arab, *New York Times* correspondent John Kifner reported that Kahane had been successful in the sense that many of his ideas "had crept into the mainstream" in Israel.

Dr. Ehud Sprinzak, an Israeli expert on the far right in Israel, observed: "Where [Kahane] has succeeded is in changing the thinking of many Israelis toward anti-Arab feelings and violence. He forced the more respectable parties to change. In the 1970s Kahane was in the political wilderness, but in the 1980s the center had moved toward Kahane." Observed the Jewish Telegraph Agency: "Rabbi Kahane could die satisfied that his message has impacted deeply and widely throughout Israeli society."²¹

By the mid-1990s, even Kahane's violent ideas seemed somewhat mild in the context of the radicalized politics of Israel. A new strain of religious extremism has been added to the Revisionist ranks. This became obvious on February 25, 1994, when Brooklyn-born Dr. Baruch Goldstein, a Kahane disciple, walked into the Ibrahim mosque, called the Cave of Machpela by Jews, in Hebron and killed 29 and wounded upwards of 150 Palestinian worshippers.²² While Rabin and labor Zionists condemned him, Goldstein became a hero for Revisionist Zionists. A shrine was made of his grave and a group of Revisionists grew up called "Goldsteiners." They are dedicated to the "sublime ideals of Goldstein" and urge "all true Jews to follow his footsteps."²³

While the Revisionists had always had an element of religious messianism, the most radical of their current heirs come from ultrareligious Orthodox Jews who are less consumed by politics than religion.²⁴ They believe they are God's messengers. Thus Rabin's assassin, Yigal Amir, cited the authority of God to explain the murder.

This is a sea change in the mindset — if not the violence — of the traditional Revisionists. For instance, in 1943 Yitzhak Shamir ordered the assassination of one of his closest Sternist friends, but offered an entirely different rationale that had nothing to do with God. Mainly the motive stemmed from political and tactical reasons. Shamir wrote in his memoirs, *In the Final Analysis*, that Stern commander Eliyahu Giladi had become "strange and wild" and had wanted to shoot at crowds of Jews and urged the assassination of David Ben-Gurion, acts that would have been highly unpopular. Wrote Shamir: "I was afraid that he had gone completely crazy. I knew that I had to take a fateful decision,

and I didn't evade it.²⁵ Giladi was fatally shot in the back on a beach south of Tel Aviv and his killer was never found.²⁶

The new Revisionists have now expanded the right to kill claimed by the early Revisionists in the name of nationalism to include a divine right. In the end, they are less interested in foreign and domestic affairs than in justifying man's acts to God. It is a powerful and inflammatory mix of nationalism and religion that is almost certain to lead to more violence unless Israel is able to look into its own soul.

Recommended Reading

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Notes

1. Sam Pope Brewer, *New York Times*, Jan. 5, 1948, and Khalidi, *Before Their Diaspora*, p. 316. Also see Palumbo, *The Palestinian Catastrophe*, pp. 83-4. Initial reports put the death toll at 34.
2. Bethell, *The Palestine Triangle*, p. 263; Sachar, *A History of Israel*, p. 267. Details on the bombing and reaction of British officials are in Nakhleh, *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*, pp. 269-70.
3. Bethell, *Palestine Triangle*, pp. 181-87, 263; Sachar, *A History of Israel*, p. 267; Marion, *A Death in Jerusalem*, p. 208.
4. Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, pp. 761-78; Silver, *Begin*, pp. 88-96; Nakhleh, *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*, pp. 271-72.
5. Silver, *Begin*, p. 12.
6. *New York Times*, Nov. 27, 1948.
7. Bar-Zohar, *Ben-Gurion*, p. 175.
8. Silver, *Begin*, p. 98.
9. Bethell, *The Palestine Triangle*, pp. 308-9. An interview reflecting Hecht's views appeared in *The New York Times*, May 28, 1947.
10. Silver, *Begin*, p. 108.
11. Silver, *Begin*, p. 108.
12. In Hebrew, *Eretz Yisrael* means the "Land of Israel," a phrase invested with strong nationalist feelings.
13. *Time*, August 16, 1948.
14. Bar-Zohar, *Ben Gurion*, pp. 77, xvii.
15. Silver, *Begin*, p. 11.
16. Elfi Pallis, "The Likud Party: A Primer," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Winter 1992, p. 45.
17. Begin, *The Revolt*, pp. 36, 46. Also see Tillman, *The United States in the Middle East*, p. 20.
18. Begin, *The Revolt*, pp. xi-xii. Also see Elfi Pallis, "The Likud Party: A Primer," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Winter 1992, p. 45.
19. Evans and Novak, *CNN*, Oct. 1, 1995.
20. Menachem Shalev, *Forward*, May 21, 1994.
21. John Kifner, *New York Times*, Nov. 11, 1990.
22. David Hoffman, *Washington Post*, Feb. 28, 1994.
23. Khalid M. Amayreh, "Six Months On," *Middle East International*, Sept. 9, 1994.
24. Halsell, *Prophecy and Politics*, p. 75, provides an excellent analysis of the extremist beliefs of Jabotinsky and his followers and their alliance with American fundamentalist Christians such as Jerry Falwell, leader of the Moral Majority.
25. Clyde Haberman, *New York Times*, Jan. 15, 1994.
26. Glenn Frankel, *Washington Post*, Nov. 6, 1995.

Natural Rebellion

"What country before ever existed a century and a half without a rebellion?... The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure."

— Thomas Jefferson, January 30, 1787

A Belgian Foundation Battles for Free Speech

For some years now, one of Europe's most important revisionist publishing centers has been the Foundation for Free Historical Research, or *Vrij Historisch Onderzoek* (VHO). From the Flemish region of Belgium, the VHO publishes and distributes a range of revisionist materials in Dutch, French, German and English.

Through the efforts above all of Siegfried Verbeke, a printer in his mid-50s, the VHO has developed into an important link in the growing worldwide revisionist community. Several times yearly VHO publishes an informative newsletter, *VHO-Nieuwsbrief*, which often includes material reprinted from this *Journal*. The well-organized VHO catalog includes a range of revisionist titles and periodicals, including such IHR books as *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, and *Flashpoint: Kristallnacht 1983*.

VHO has published more than a dozen serious, attractively produced books and booklets in its "Revisionistische Bibliotheek" series, including Dutch language editions of *The Ball Report* (by John Ball), the first and second *Leuchter Report* by American gas chamber specialist Fred Leuchter, and a 170-page booklet on the crematory ovens at Auschwitz and Birkenau by Carlo Mattogno and engineer Franco Deana. VHO is now preparing a French edition of the *Rudolf Report* and further foreign-language editions of works by Carlo Mattogno.

In 1995 VHO published *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* ("Auschwitz: Naked Facts"). Subtitled "A Response to Jean-Claude Pressac," this 170-page illustrated German-language paperback book includes scholarly contributions by Prof. Robert Faurisson, Manfred Köhler, Carlo Mattogno and Serge Thion.

As in other countries, the usual forces of "politically correct" bigotry have been trying to shut down this dissident voice. In 1992 four Netherlands organizations — the B'nai B'rith, the Center for Information and Documentation on Israel, the Anne Frank Foundation, and the National Bureau on Combatting Racism — brought a joint civil suit against Verbeke and a colleague for circulating material, including the *Leuchter Report*, that calls into question the officially ordained version of 20th century history. This case received extensive newspaper and television coverage in both Belgium and the Netherlands.

Because publication of such "Holocaust denial" material was quite legal in Belgium at the time, the

suit was a bit of legal chicanery. This cross-border lawsuit, apparently the first legal action of its kind, was permitted by new European Community rules. In late 1992 a court ordered VHO director Verbeke to pay 10,000 Dutch guilders (about \$6,000) for each revisionist "violation." However, he has refused to pay any fine.

In 1993 the Anne Frank Foundation in the Netherlands and the Anne Frank Fund in Switzerland brought a lawsuit in the Netherlands against Robert Faurisson, Siegfried Verbeke and a VHO colleague for publishing a 125-page booklet critical of the Anne Frank Diary. The defendants were charged with slander, outrage, abuse toward a group and incitement to hatred, discrimination or violence. "It must be remembered," the lawsuit charged, "that for years Anne Frank has been the symbol of the Jews who were victims of the Holocaust. In this way, her name and her diary assume an additional value. Therefore, one has to expect that in this connection oral or written arguments be subjected to a greater prudence, from a social point of view, than Dutch law generally requires." Although the defendants completed their arguments some time ago, the Frank organizations seem afraid to respond in court to Faurisson's arguments, and reluctant to pursue the case further.

In 1994 Verbeke made headlines again for distributing the Dutch-language edition of the *Rudolf Report*. He was falsely chastised as a "neo-Nazi," and an official of a prominent Jewish organization dismissed the *Rudolf Report* as "dangerous anti-Semitic poison."

In 1995 Belgium's parliament approved a new anti-revisionist law, similar to those already in force in France and Austria, making it a crime to dispute the Holocaust story. Anyone who denies, plays down or seeks to justify "the genocide of the German National Socialist regime during the Second World War" may be punished with a fine or a prison term of up to one year.

Defying the new law, Verbeke carries on the struggle. He comments: "When you are living in a country where nearly 40 percent of the productive population is in some way a 'government employee' you will understand everything — that is, nothing turns out well, and we survive by improvisation."

For further information, write:

VHO, Postbus 60, B-2600 Berchem 2, (Flanders) Belgium

Three Stages

"All truth passes through three stages. First, it is ridiculed. Second, it is violently opposed. Third, it is accepted as self-evident."

— Arthur Schopenhauer

A Tip of the Hat

Today, for the first time, I took a tour of your [internet] website, and was overwhelmed by the wealth of info there. If this is your spare-time project, please accept a tip of the hat from me. Please also be assured that what you've placed there at everyone's disposal is a valuable public service indeed. Thank you very much. Keep on trucking with it.

K.R.

Ste. Therese, Quebec
Canada

Interest in Ukraine

Recently I was just surfing the net and came upon your site, where I found the article "Vinnytsia: The Katyn of Ukraine" [from the Winter 1980 *Journal*]. Because I am of Ukrainian origin, this article was of immediate interest to me. I was totally mesmerized by the content, almost to the point of crying.

I am very interested in finding out more about Ukraine or further historical information about the former Soviet Union from your site or Institute.

J.K.

[by Internet]

Draconian Measures

Thank you very much for providing this important information on historical revisionism [through the Internet]. I have long been frustrated by the sacrosanct "facts" that are continually pounded into our minds through television, film and print.

I do not count myself among those who deny historical atrocities, but I wonder why so much attention and sensationalism has been devoted to the sufferings of this one particular religious-ethnic group, and not others that have suffered as much if not more than Jews.

I recently read a newspaper

item about a Japanese magazine [*Marco Polo*] that had been closed down because it featured an article that called the Holocaust a hoax. While I don't believe it was a hoax, I do not approve of such draconian measures to placate a single group, particularly because such tactics reflect the same arrogance and abuse that was inflicted on people in Axis-occupied Europe during World War II.

D.D.

Washington, D.C.

Wrong Journal Priorities?

As it has for years, the *Journal* continues to stick pretty much to its original agenda, which is to refute the Holocaust story. However, you should recognize that for most current and potential *Journal* readers the Holocaust is no longer a red-hot, visceral issue.

What are the red-hot issues? I think they are: (a) the steady destruction of the economic base of ordinary middle class Americans, (b) vast, unrestricted immigration, especially from the Third World, which is irreversibly changing the nation's racial character, and (c), spineless pandering to vocal minorities.

When someone first encounters Holocaust revisionist writings, he no doubt finds them astonishing and even a little breathtaking. ("What, are you seriously trying to tell me that the Nazis didn't kill six million Jews?"). But after six months or a year, you've either convinced him or haven't. And in either case, what more do you then have to say to him?

You should also keep in mind the excruciatingly technical nature of many Holocaust revisionist arguments: traces of this, traces of that, comparison with this, comparisons with that, and so forth. Even though I am a trained engineer, believe me when

I tell you that I was barely equal to the demands on my intellect of revisionist arguments. Just imagine how much less attention you can reasonably expect from the typical *Journal* reader.

While your insistence on keeping the *Journal* on a high level is admirable, I am afraid this has hurt you. In your preference for the cerebral to the visceral I fear you have stripped the *Journal* of its power to arouse, excite and enrage.

R.P.

Montville, New Jersey

The Journal's Purpose

What should be the purpose of the Institute for Historical Review and its *Journal*? As I see it, the primary focus should be a serious, factual examination of the Jewish question as it affects historical issues. While this obviously encompasses the Holocaust and Holocaust revisionism, it should also include the Jewish role in World War II, World War I, the Russian revolution, and other critical aspects of 19th and 20th century history.

A related but secondary goal should be to clarify the history of Third Reich Germany and National Socialism. The social and cultural record of the National Socialist regime, Hitler's historical role, and the origins and causes of World War II are endlessly distorted and, as a result, are still not clearly understood today.

I realize that dealing fairly with this chapter of history can be a problem. Hitler and the Third Reich have been so demonized that to deal objectively with them inevitably entails a certain measure of "rehabilitation." The Institute's stated purpose is not to rehabilitate this or that regime, and that is as it should be. In treating these prickly issues, the

main thing should be to deal with the facts truthfully and objectively, and to make sure that the *intent* is not to rehabilitate.

My extensive reading and study over the years has strongly reinforced my conviction that an awareness of the Jewish dimension is essential to an full understanding of human affairs, especially in the West during this century. As numerous prominent Jewish figures have affirmed, the Jewish element is a key factor in many of the problems we experience today.

Scrutinizing entrenched historical myths and uncovering widely-accepted historical lies is obviously no way to win applause from mainstream academic and publishing circles.

While some other periodicals may touch on the Jewish issue, no one dares tackle it with the consistency and seriousness of the *IHR Journal*. What the IHR has already accomplished is magnificent, and it should continue on the same path.

M.B.
Bellevue, Washington

Russian Events Pertinent

I found Ernst Zundel's "Impressions of the New Russia" in the Sept.-Oct. issue very pertinent, for it was interesting to see the nationalist trend discussed there reflected in the recent Russian parliamentary election. The same alien tyranny imposed on the Russian people for 70 years also afflicts us. As Solzhenitsyn said during his years in exile: How the Soviet Union will find its way out of totalitarianism is not the great issue, but rather how the rest of the world will escape the same fate. Your Institute is doing wonderful work, and I hope it provides a shortcut to realization of this by the peoples of the Western world.

A.S.
Queensland, Australia

United in Love and Compassion

... May your soul suffer the same fate as any Nazi who took

part in implementing the Final Solution. May God pity you, but never forgive you and your kind for the seeds of hatred which you have planted thereby denying Hitler's victims the eternal rest which they deserve. This is what Wiesel meant by leaving a place for hatred in our lives ...

May humanity some day become so enlightened that it will be able to forgive you for your sins against everything moral and everything created [sic] by the God Who unites the rest of the world in love and compassion.

Rabbi Matthew Futterman
[by Internet]
Ashkelon, Israel

Fascinated

I have read your flyer and am fascinated by how low you have stooped ... You are a disgrace for the hole human race ...

Gileul Swerdlow
[mailed anonymously from Calif.]

Disturbed Teen

Who are you to judge? Who are you to say that the something so horrible and so devastating? If the holocaust never happened then what happened to the six million jews that are no longer existing or what about my relatives that I never got to know? I don't understand how you can sit there and write these questions about something that did in fact take place...

[signed]
A very disturbed teen
[mailed anonymously from
Woodland Hills, Calif.]

Great Hopes

I am somewhat fed up with statements such as this one in the article about the IHR in the Sept.-Oct. 1995 *Journal* [p. 19]: "Although the Institute does not 'deny the Holocaust,' over the years it has published detailed books and numerous probing essays that call into question aspects of the orthodox Holocaust extermination story."

Why not "deny" it? For a long time now sufficient proof has been available to "deny" the existence

of even a single homicidal "gas chamber" in a wartime German concentration camp.

The sooner this truth is made available to all people in every country, the better. Then, perhaps, the great personal sacrifices of so many great individuals of character can be made good — in their lifetimes. I have great hopes that the truth will prevail through the Internet.

The sooner the lie of the "greatest crime in history" — that is, about "gas chambers" and six million "murdered" Jews — is laid to rest forever, the sooner the IHR can progress to other urgent historical issues.

H.G.
Herfordshire, England

A Blessing

I am a 70-year-old woman. I fled east Germany in December 1945 and have lived in America since 1948. The outright lies and misinformation about Germany has caused me lots of mental anguish over the years.

Thank you and bless you for your efforts to air the other side.

A. T.
Milbridge, Maine

Intriguing Information

John Weir's review of *The Warburgs* [Sept.-Oct. 1995 issue] was very intriguing. Especially interesting was the information under the subtitle "International Network." Any of the matters dealt with there could be expanded upon.

I am enclosing two checks for the IHR. The \$140 check is for my monthly pledge and a *Journal* subscription renewal. The \$500 check is a "bonus" for the IHR.

Many thanks for your continued and untiring efforts on behalf of revisionism.

M.P.
Denver, Col.

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Shermer, just back from an inspection of the sites of the wartime concentration camps of Auschwitz, Majdanek, Mauthausen and Dachau, cites a "convergence of evidence" in his defense of the Holocaust story.

Weber, Director of the Institute for Historical Review, delivers a powerful summary of the revisionist critique of the Holocaust story, and gives a devastating response to Shermer's arguments.

Shermer, editor-publisher of *Skeptic* magazine, makes one startling concession after another. He acknowledges that numerous Holocaust claims — once "proven" by eyewitnesses and courts — are obviously not true. Shermer concedes, for example, that an execution "gas chamber" at Majdanek — shown to thousands of trusting tourists yearly — is a fraud. (At Nuremberg the Allies "proved" that the Germans murdered *one and half million* people at this one camp.)

This two hour clash — at a special IHR meeting on July 22, 1995 — dramatically gives the lie to the often-repeated claim that the Holocaust story is "undebatable."

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The *New York Times Book Review* calls this a "Rolls Royce" of a book, "filled with costly color photographs" and written in "lively and compelling" prose.

Now you can enjoy your own copy of Irving's brilliant product of seasoned scholarship and gifted writing. You'll treasure this sumptuous 740-page hardcover masterpiece, with more than a hundred photos, many in full color.

Typical of the grudging praise that *Goebbels* and Irving have been receiving in Britain is the commentary of George Stern in the *Literary Review*:

As with his books on Hitler and Göring, Irving tries to show how events looked to Goebbels. He is the first to use Goebbels' full diary, 75,000 pages, recently found in Moscow. He has interviewed many people, including surviving Nazis, and has used innumerable memoirs and diaries. The result is unique, as though Goebbels had a video recorder on his shoulder... Irving supplies well over a hundred photographs, some as sharp and as colourful as if they were taken yesterday ... Irving's trademark research into original manuscripts is uniquely impressive.

In his *Daily Telegraph* review, British historian John Keegan wrote:

David Irving knows more than anyone alive about the German side of the Second World War. He discovers archives unknown to official historians and turns their contents into densely footnoted narratives that consistently provoke controversy ... His greatest achievement is *Hitler's War*, which has been described as 'the autobiography the Führer did not write' and is indispensable to anyone seeking to understand the war in the round. Now he has turned his attention to Joseph Goebbels ... The result is a characteristic Irving book: 530 pages of text and 160 pages of relentless references ...

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The Journal of Historical Review

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March / April 1996

— Special Report —
Jewish Terrorism in France

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Down Israel**

Donald Neff

**Origins of America's
Military-Industrial
Complex**

Robert Higgs

**A New Version of the
Holocaust Story**

Robert Faurisson

— Reviews —

**Roosevelt's
Deceitful Path
to Pearl
Harbor**

Joseph Bishop

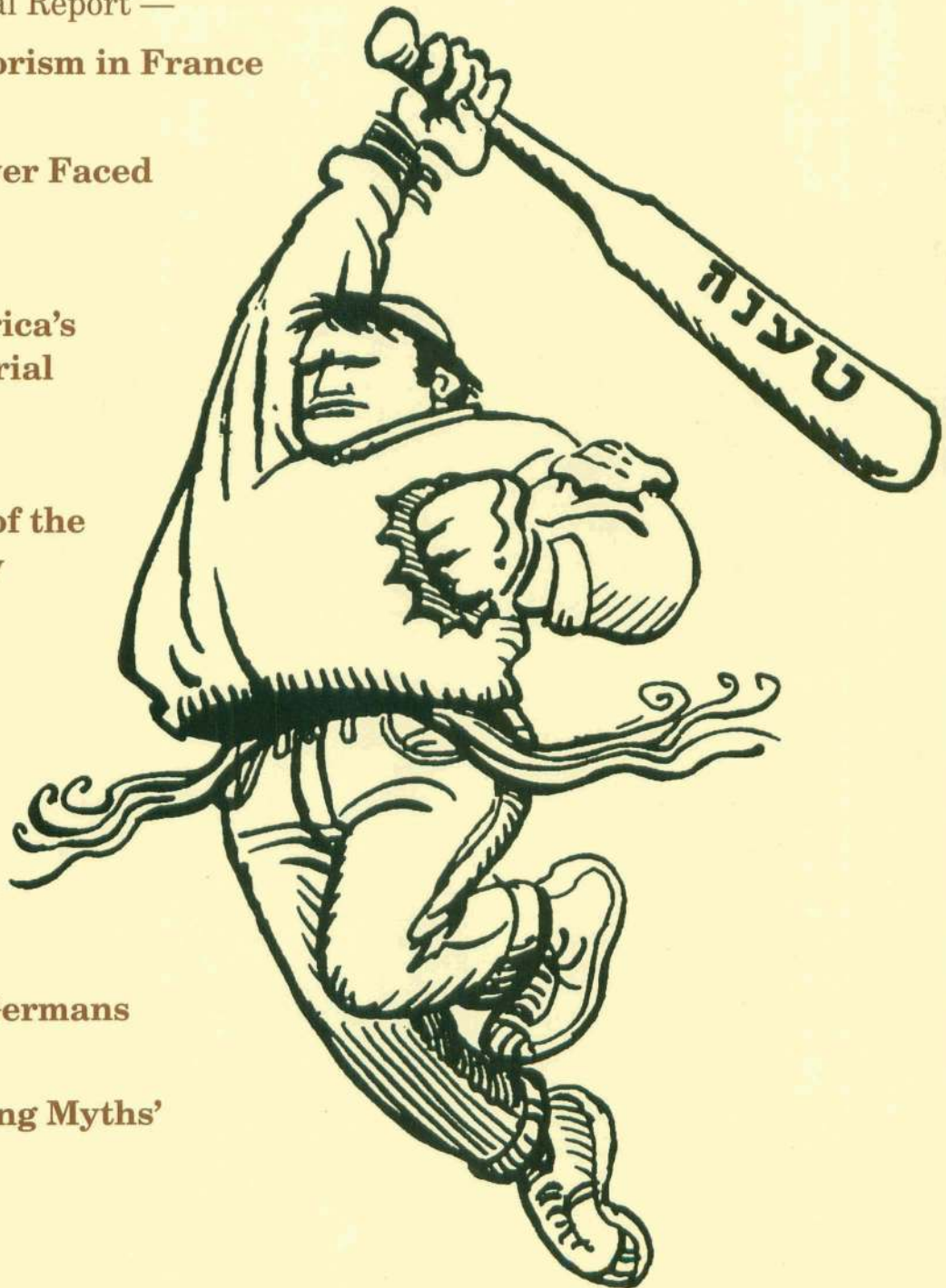
**Goldhagen's
Indictment of Germans**

Charles Weber

Israel's 'Founding Myths'

Robert Martello

— And More —



The Heart-warming, Infuriating, Informative, and Revisionist memoir that Dares to Tell the Truth About the Postwar Trials of the Germans

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

AMERICAN TEENAGER JOE HALOW was still a boy when he sailed to war-ravaged Germany in late 1946. The year he spent there, taking part in some of the most sensational of the war-crimes trials of the defeated Nazis, turned him into a man.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's account of his year in postwar Germany, above all his work as a court reporter during the U.S. Army courts-martial at Dachau. There Halow witnessed, recorded and transcribed some of the most gripping testimony from some of the most sensational trials of the postwar years: of SS guards from Buchenwald, Mauthausen, and Dora/Nordhausen; of the inmates who carried out their orders as kapos (prisoner trustees); and of German villagers who attacked and murdered downed American fliers in the last phase of the Allies' terrifying air war.

Armed with an ironclad faith in American righteousness when he arrived, young Halow soon saw the flaws and abuses in the trials: reliance on *ex post facto* law and broad conspiracy theories; abuse of prisoners during interrogation; and the shocking tolerance, even encouragement, of perjured testimony by concentration camp survivors. The teenaged American court reporter came to sympathize with the plight of the accused, particularly those convicted, sentenced or executed unjustly.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's story of his coming of age, of his loss of innocence in the Dachau courts. And it's the human drama of how he came to terms with his own anti-German feelings living and working in a Germany still heaped with rubble and ruled by the black market, in the shadow of the looming Iron Curtain and approaching Cold War.

Innocent at Dachau is also the story of how, four decades later, Joe Halow went back — back to the long-classified records of the Army's trials at Dachau where he found astounding confirmation from official sources of his own misgivings about the trials; and back to Germany for a moving visit with one of the German SS men Halow watched testify about his role at Nordhausen concentration camp.

Outspoken, informative, moving, *Innocent at Dachau* is a unique testimony to one American's quest for truth, understanding and honor, in a realm ruled even today

by shibboleth and taboo — a book that deserves to be read, and read again.

Joseph Halow was born and raised in Altoona, Pennsylvania. After a brief stint in the U.S. Army following World War II, during which he served in Peking, China, Mr. Halow served as a court reporter at the U.S. Army war crimes trials at Dachau. Mr. Halow has had a long career in the export-import business, during which he headed an association that promoted the exportation of American grain. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of The George Washington University, Joseph Halow is the author of numerous articles on agricultural affairs, as well as a book, *U.S. Grain: The Political Commodity*. He lives near Washington, D.C.

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

by Joseph Halow

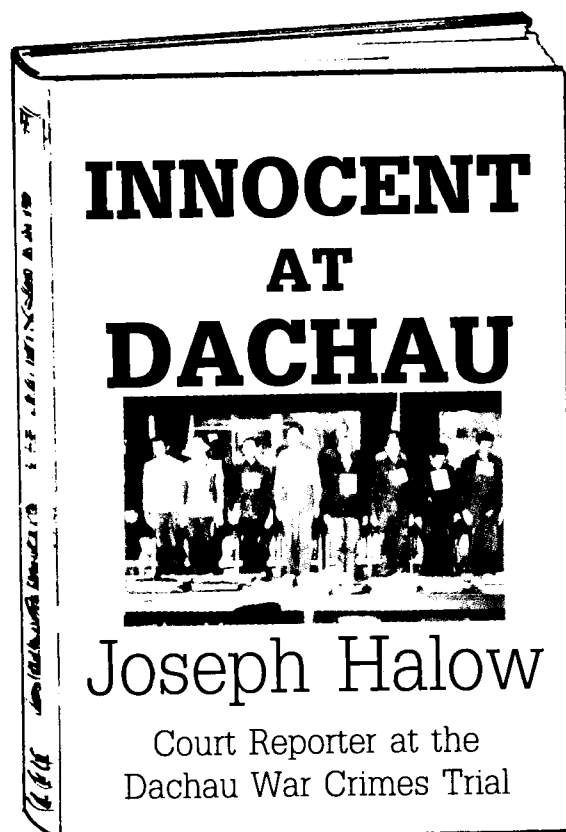
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INSET: Germany, 1946: The author transcribing his courtroom "take" for the record.

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Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years, and More, of Terrorism in France

This essay, written in June 1995, is based on documentation provided by Robert Faurisson. Copies of the French-language text have been sent to key French government and police authorities.

In its issue of June 1991, the French monthly *Le Choc du mois* ("The Shock of the Month") published a rather lengthy report entitled "Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years of Terrorism" ("*Milices juives. Quinze ans de terrorisme*," pp. 7-13). Under the main headline, a subtitle summed up:

"Jewish Action Group," "Jewish Combat Organization," "Jewish Defense Organization"... Under these various names, Jewish activists for 15 years have unceasingly sown terror [in France] with total impunity. Provocations that have no other aim than to incite reprisals. As if certain people wanted the [French] Jewish community to feel threatened ...

The report reviews 50 cases of physical aggression committed by organized Jewish groups during the period from June 19, 1976, to April 20, 1991. Not mentioned, therefore, are physical attacks committed by individual Jews (which are, in any case, rare).

The victims of the 50 cases listed by *Le Choc du mois*, who number in the hundreds, suffered: loss of life, an eye put out, acid throwing, numerous hospitalizations, injuries followed by deep coma, lifetime disabilities, and serious post-traumatic conditions, "the commission of barbaric acts," severe beatings in the presence of policemen who refused to intervene, and numerous ambush attacks (in one case with the complicity of the daily newspaper *Libération*).

Most of these acts of aggression were passed over in silence by the media or only briefly reported. Some were applauded by Jewish publications or organizations which, in general, after a few *pro forma* words of censure, suggested that the victims deserved their fate, that such attacks are "only natural and normal," and that no one need expect any leniency in future if he should ever again arouse Jewish "anger."

It is worthy of note that not one Jew has been the victim of a single attack in revenge by any "revisionist" or so-called "extreme right" group. (Although the press routinely lumps "revisionism" and the "extreme right" together, in reality historical revisionism receives support from thinking persons of all possible political views, from the ultra-left to the extreme right, and of all parties, except the Communists. Paul Rassinier, regarded as the founder of Holocaust revisionism in France, was a Socialist.)

From among the many attacks committed by Jewish militants or organizations, we shall confine ourselves here to mentioning only those involving the following victims: François Duprat, a GRECE conference, Marc Fredriksen (twice), Charles Bousquet, Michel Caignet, Pierre Sidos, Olivier Mathieu, Pierre Guillaume, the "Friends of Saint-Loup," and Robert Faurisson. Many other cases from the 1976-1991 period could be mentioned. (For example, on November 2, 1976, the building in which "National Front" leader Jean-Marie Le Pen was living had to be entirely destroyed after being rocked from top to bottom of its five floors in a dynamiting for which a "Jewish Remembrance Group" claimed responsibility. On April 2, 1991, Fabrice Benichou, a newsboy died in his home after having been beaten up while selling a weekly paper in the Sentier Jewish quarter of Paris.)

François Duprat

François Duprat, a member of the leadership of the National Front party, and an author and distributor of revisionist writings, was killed in his car on March 18, 1978, when it was blown up with a sophisticated bomb. His wife was severely injured. A "Remembrance Commando" claimed responsibility for the crime. In keeping with the practice of "Nazi hunters" Serge and Beate Klarsfeld, Patrice Chairouff had published in *Dossier néonazisme* ("The Neo-Nazi File," 1977), the name and address of Duprat, and of several other persons who were suspected of fascism, neo-Nazism, or revisionism (*Le Monde*, March 23, 1978, p. 7; April 26, 1978, p. 9).

In *Le Droit de vivre* ("The Right to Live"), the periodical of the "International League Against Rac-

ism and Anti-Semitism" (*Ligue internationale contre le racisme et l'antisémitisme*," LICRA), Jean Pierre-Bloch, the publication's director, commented on Duprat's murder without saying a single word about the wife's injuries. His comments reflect a cabalistic mentality: while affecting disapproval of this "infamous" crime, he expresses the view that, in his opinion, the crime is due to the fact that in the years 1977-78 "anarchy and the reign of political score-settling" took hold in France, and that "criminal accusations were made against the immigrants, Jews or Gypsies." Jean Pierre-Bloch thus equates indisputable criminal *actions* with "criminal accusations," of which he in fact indicates neither the purport nor the consequences. Still more revealing is the following passage in his statement: "Yes, it is true. We are ready to fight and to die to permit our adversaries to say in complete freedom what they think as long as they don't defend crime or harbor racial hatred." In the context of this murder, these words constitute a warning to anyone who might displease the Jews by following Duprat's example (*Le Monde*, May 7-8, 1978).

A few months later, Jean Pierre-Bloch described Robert Faurisson, Europe's foremost revisionist scholar, as an imitator of Louis Darquier de Pellepoix, Commissioner General of Jewish affairs in the wartime Vichy government, and then proclaimed: "Darquier will be extradited. Those who follow in his path can forget about living to a ripe old age. Sooner or later they will find the anti-racists on their trail." (*Le Droit de vivre*, Dec. 1978, p. 23). LICRA was founded in 1927 by Bernard Lecache under the name "League Against Pogroms" (*Ligue contre les pogroms*) to defend the Russian Jew Shalom Schwarzbart, who had assassinated Ukrainian General Simon Petlura in Paris the previous year. The public clamor organized on behalf of the assassin led to his acquittal. Similar public campaigns would much later lead to the acquittal of other assassins (such as the May 5, 1976, acquittal of the thug and murderer Pierre Goldmann).

Following the murder of François Duprat, an article appeared in the leading French daily *Le Monde* about an English revisionist pamphlet that had been distributed in France by Duprat. This article by journalist Pierre Vianson-Ponté, a smear job pure and simple, failed to make any mention of Duprat's assassination ("Le mensonge (suite)" ["The Lie (continued)"], *Le Monde*, 3-4 Sept. 1978, p. 9).

A GRECE Conference

On December 9, 1979, about a hundred individuals wearing helmets attacked the 14th national conference of GRECE (*Groupe d'études et de recherches sur la civilisation européenne*, "Group for the Study and Research of European Civilization").



François Duprat. This gifted 38-year-old educator was killed in a 1978 bomb blast, in which his wife was severely injured. A Jewish "Remembrance Commando" promptly claimed responsibility for the murder. No one was ever arrested for this crime.

Wrecking the book stands, they displayed banners bearing the name "*Organisation juive de défense*" (OJD, "Jewish Defense Organization"). Fifteen or so of the conference attendees were injured. One of them lost an eye. Several of the assailants were arrested by the police, and then released that same afternoon on the intervention of Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch, the son of Jean Pierre-Bloch and a friend of Jacques Chirac [currently President of France]. Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch had been involved, and would also later be involved, in other attacks and intercessions on behalf of these same attackers.

Marc Fredriksen

On September 19, 1980, a commando group of the "Jewish Defense Organization" (OJD) attacked sympathizers of Marc Fredriksen, an executive of FANE (*Fédération d'action nationale et européenne*, or "National and European Action Federation"), at the Paris Palace of Justice (court house). Six persons were injured, two of them seriously. The Palace of Justice guards, although



This "Chard" cartoon in *Rivarol*, April 26, 1991, depicts a French Jewish militant "in action." With official sanction, these self-appointed "thought police" terrorize real or imagined enemies. Although Jews attack French nationalists and revisionists with impunity, no French Jew has ever been the victim of an attack by nationalists or revisionists.

charged with maintaining order, permitted the Jewish militants in this case, as in all other similar circumstances, to act without or almost without hindrance.

On this occasion Jean Pierre-Bloch announced: "The law of retaliation might well appear again ... If a single one of our own is harmed, we shall apply the formula: an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth ... If we have to organize militarily, we shall do so" (*Le Monde*, Oct. 1, 1980). The phrase "If a single one of our own is harmed ..." indicates that not a single Jew had been harmed. And what was true in 1980 is still true in 1995. In the course of their fighting against nationalists or revisionists the Jews harm, wound or kill but are themselves never harmed, wounded or killed. If a French "right wing" group had harmed a Jew, the media of the entire world would have played up the attack, with shocking photographs of the victim, gruesome details about the injury, follow-up interviews, and outraged commentary.

Charles Bousquet, Mark Fredriksen

On October 3, 1980, an attack against the Paris synagogue in the rue Copernic, which resulted in four dead and 27 wounded, received enormous international media coverage. The four dead were passersby, among them an Israeli woman whose presence has never been explained. That same day Interior Minister Christian Bonnet received information that allowed him to determine that this was a Palestinian attack, but under pressure from Jewish organizations and with the cooperation of the major newspapers, he let it be assumed that this was an action of the extreme right. It was later learned that the attack was actually committed by a Palestinian from Cyprus.

On the same evening as the synagogue attack, the FANE headquarters were wrecked and the *Librairie française* bookstore on the rue de l'Abbé-Grégoire street in Paris was the target of a new arson attempt. This bookstore, owned by Jean-Gilles Malliarakis, would undergo more than ten attacks or attempts over a period of just a few years. The headquarters of a small political party, *l'Oeuvre française*, directed by Pierre Sidos was machine-gunned. Lynching scenes unfolded in Paris, as groups of Jewish demonstrators attacked lone young passersby who were singled out because they were tall, blond, and with short hair (*Le Monde*, Oct. 9, 1980, p. 12).

A few days later, on October 7, Charles Bousquet, 84 years old, was attacked in his home in Neuilly with sulfuric acid by a group of unknown men who had apparently mistaken him for the militant nationalist, Pierre Bousquet (no relation to René Bousquet). He was hospitalized for a month at Foch Hospital in the major burns ward, and suffered after-effects from his injuries. He refused to press charges because his son Pierre, a professor of history at the University of Paris IV, has asked him not to "on account of the Israelites." He said: "They'll be in Jerusalem or Tel Aviv, the ones who did it. It would all be useless. I want to forget it" (during a conversation with R. Faurisson, May 2, 1984).

On October 12, 1980, Mark Fredriksen was beaten up and admitted to the Rambouillet hospital in serious condition. His apartment was torn apart in his absence. While under treatment at Berck-sur-Mer for multiple fractures, he came close to suffering another attack: three young men showed up and asked to see him; their description matched that of the Aziza team that subsequently attacked Michel Caignat with acid (see below).

On October 20, 1980, the writer André Figuéras was attacked at his residence.

Michel Caignet

On the morning of January 29, 1981, Michel (Miguel) Caignet, a 26-year-old Sorbonne student who was preparing for a doctorate in Anglo-German linguistics, had just left his residence in Courbevoie to go to the university when he was accosted by four individuals. They knocked him down and prevented him from moving. One of the four attackers sprayed his face and his right hand with sulfuric acid.

Caignet had belonged to FANE, and he was a revisionist. He had been denounced by the weekly *VSD* (*Vendredi / Samedi / Dimanche*). Following the attack with acid, his face looked so hideous that only two newspapers ventured to publish his photograph. The principal perpetrator of the attack, Yves Aziza, a medical student and the son of Charles Aziza (an assistant pharmacist at Montreuil), was identified by the police within an hour of the crime. But in this case, as in others, the French police and courts scandalously permitted Yves Aziza to flee to Germany and to Israel. At the Justice Ministry, an official named Main at the criminal affairs bureau (headed by Raoul Béteille) sarcastically evaded every question put to him with regard to the 14-day delay in opening a judicial inquiry. Among Yves Aziza's correspondents was Daniel Ziskind, the son of Michèle Ziskind, sister of Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch, who is himself the son of Jean Pierre-Bloch.

Pierre Sidos

On September 18, 1981, 200 members of the *Organisation juive de combat* (OJC) or "Jewish Combat Organization" laid down the law at the Palace of Justice in Paris, where the defamation trial brought by Pierre Sidos, president of *l'Oeuvre française*, against Jean-Pierre Bloch was taking place. As usual, Jewish thugs beat up several of the spectators.

On November 25, 1981, the premises of the *Études et documentation* bookstore were set on fire by a commando group.

On May 8, 1988, at Saint-Augustin Square in Paris, OJC commandos used iron bars to attack *l'Oeuvre française* supporters who were taking part in the traditional parade in honor of Joan of Arc. Some 15 supporters were injured, two of them very seriously. Four of the victims were hospitalized. A septuagenarian remained in a coma for several weeks. Ten OJC members were questioned by the police. That same afternoon Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch interceded with the criminal police investiga-



In November 1976, an enormous explosion ripped through the five-story building in which Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of France's "National Front," was living. A "Jewish Remembrance Group" claimed responsibility. So extensive was the damage that the entire building had to be torn down.

tion unit (*police judiciaire*) on their behalf. Legal proceedings were instituted against some of the attackers. Some attackers were released with the following notation by the examining magistrate: "preliminary examination inopportune." Other attackers were tried, though not without pressure "from the highest political level" being brought to bear on the public prosecutor's office. In total, only three of the attackers were tried. Each received a two-year *suspended* (!) prison sentence.

Olivier Mathieu

On February 6, 1990, millions of viewers witnessed the brutal attack against Olivier Mathieu during a television broadcast emceed by Christophe Dechavanne. Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch came on to the stage with a group of OJC militants. Mathieu had just time enough to exclaim: "Faurisson is right." Then ten or so of the thugs severely beat him,



Michel Caignet, following the brutal 1981 attack against him outside his residence. Four assailants knocked the Sorbonne student to the ground and sprayed his face with sulfuric acid. None of the attackers was ever arrested for this crime.

the police, but released a few hours later on the intercession of Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch.

Pierre Guillaume

Pierre Guillaume, a leftist, is in charge of the *Vieille Taupe* ("Old Mole") publishers, which has issued a number of revisionist works, including those of Professor Faurisson. He has been the victim of a number of serious attacks, both against his person — at the Sorbonne, in his Paris bookstore, and at the Palace of Justice in Paris (where the guards did not intervene) — as well as against his property (book warehouse, video equipment, bookstore). In 1991, groups of demonstrators, most of them Jews, laid siege to his bookstore in the rue d'Ulm on a regular basis. As a result of various acts of violence (breaking shop windows, spraying chemical products, physical intimidation, etc.), they finally succeeded in closing it.

The 'Friends of Saint-Loup'

On April 20, 1991, at the "Maison des Mines" building in Paris, about 50 individuals claiming to be members of the *Groupe d'action juive* (GAJ), or "Jewish Action Group," and armed with iron bars and baseball bats, attacked the attendees of a meeting of the "Friends of Saint-Loup" ("*Les Amis de Saint-Loup*"), named after a deceased writer whose real name was Marc Augier. Thirteen persons, most of them elderly, were injured, two of them very seriously. Juliette Cavalié, 67 years of age, was taken to

his fiancée, and Marc Botrel. Among those present was an important figure among Jewish militants: Moshe Cohen, a former second lieutenant of the Israeli army and an officer at the time of the *Tagar* organization, the student branch of the *Betar* (59 boulevard de Strasbourg, Paris Xe). The attacks continued off stage and out into the street. One attacker was questioned by

Beaujon Hospital where she lapsed into a coma that lasted three months. After regaining consciousness, she was condemned to spend the rest of her days unable to walk or even to feed herself. Alain Léauthier, a journalist for *Libération* and a relative of the socialist deputy and Jewish zealot Julien Dray, witnessed the attack from beginning to end, and provided a smug and ironical report of it ("Zionist commando unit invites itself to the neo-Nazi meeting," *Liberation*, April 22, 1991, p. 28).

Robert Faurisson

Europe's most prominent Holocaust revisionist scholar, Professor Robert Faurisson, was the victim of ten physical assaults between November 20, 1978, and May 31, 1993 (two in Lyon, two in Vichy, two in Stockholm and four in Paris). Seven of these attacks were at the hands of French Jewish organizations or militants — two in Lyon, one in Vichy, one in Stockholm (by Swedish Jews together with French Jews who had come from Paris by plane), one at the Sorbonne, and one at the Palace of Justice in Paris.

The first of these seven attacks took place on November 20, 1978. It was lauded in *Libération-Lyon* by the Jewish journalist Bernard Schalscha, who reported the day, the place, and the hour of the professor's courses. Members of the Jewish Students Union who had come by first-class train from Paris attacked the professor at the University, while Dr. Marc Aron, a cardiologist and president of the liaison committee of the Jewish institutions and organizations of Lyon, was present.

The second attack occurred a few weeks later when Faurisson attempted to resume his courses. On that day as well, Marc Aron was again at the university.

At the Sorbonne, on September 12, 1987, members of a Jewish group of militants attacked Henry Chauveau, Michel Sergent, Pierre Guillaume, Freddy Storer (a Belgian), and Professor Faurisson, all of whom were injured. (Chauveau was seriously injured.) The Sorbonne guards apprehended one of the attackers. A plainclothes policeman ordered the attacker released and used the violence as an excuse to expel the professor from the university. (Prof. Faurisson had once taught at the Sorbonne.)

On September 16, 1989, three men set a trap for Faurisson in a park near his residence in Vichy as he was out walking his poodle. After spraying a stinging gas into his face, temporarily blinding him, the assailants punched him to the ground and then repeatedly kicked him in the face and chest. If a passerby had not intervened, the attackers' kicks to the head would have been finished off the 60-year-old scholar. Badly injured, Faurisson had to undergo a lengthy surgical operation. The crime



Outside the main Paris court house, "Jewish Defense Organization" thugs attack sympathizers of Marc Fredriksen. The court house guards did not intervene in this September 19, 1980 attack, in which six persons were injured, two of them seriously. In this photo, the attackers's faces have been partially blacked out to conceal their identities.

investigation unit inquiry confirmed that the attack could be attributed to "young Jewish activists from Paris."

On the eve of the attack, Faurisson had noted with surprise the presence near the park of a certain Nicolas Ullmann (born in 1963). On July 12, 1987, Ullmann had violently struck the professor at the Vichy Sporting-Club. When he was questioned at the criminal investigation department about his presence in that area, he denied having been there. Moreover, Ullmann claimed that on the very day of the attack he had taken part in a masked ball ("bal masqué") in Paris, so that it would be impossible for anyone other than his host and friend to vouch for his presence in Paris that day. It should be noted that the examining magistrate of Cusset, near Vichy, never summoned Faurisson to hear his testimony. Instead, judge Jocelyne Rubantel merely received him in her office in Cusset to inform him that she would ask for a dismissal of the charges — which she obtained. No search was made of the Paris headquarters of Betar/Tagar. Such a search would have incited too much "anger" in the Jewish community.

On October 16, 1989, precisely one month after the attack in Vichy, a bomb exploded at the door of the offices in Paris of *Choc du mois*, which were then ransacked. Credit for the attack was claimed by the "Jewish Combat Organization" (OJC) and some far

left groups. Éric Letty, who had devoted an article in *Choc du mois* to Professor Faurisson, would have been killed had he not, by a miracle, detected the imminence of the explosion.

We do not have space here to cite the other attacks against Professor Faurisson.

Other Cases

Many other cases could be cited of attacks by Jewish groups: in addition to the incidents during the years 1976-1991 listed in the *Choc du mois* article, there are other, unlisted, cases, as well as attacks that have occurred since 1992. To repeat: the total number of victims of Jewish terror amounts to several hundreds, even though, in contrast, not a single Jew has been the victim of a concerted or organized attack in France.

On January 14, 1988, in Lyon, Professor Jean-Claude Allard was hospitalized following a group attack against him for which the OJC claimed responsibility. The attackers ambushed him in the parking lot of the University of Lyon III. In June 1985, he had presided over the examining board of the thesis of revisionist scholar Henri Roques on "The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein," which have been widely regarded as key evidence for Holocaust gassings. (In an action without precedent in French academic history, the thesis' defense was annulled under pressure by "angry" Jews. [The English-lan-



Robert Faurisson in a hospital bed following a nearly fatal attack on September 16, 1989. A group calling itself "The Sons of the Memory of the Jews" claimed responsibility for the savage assault. No one was ever arrested for this crime.

guage edition of *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein* is published by the IHR.))

Armed Jewish militants carried out new acts of violence on April 13, 1994, during a break in the trial of the "hooligans of the Parc des Princes," a Paris soccer stadium. (At least one of the hooligans was a Jew.) In this case the victims were policemen. The militants entered the Palace of Justice with weapons and iron bars, and one of the court house guards was attacked. "An interesting detail," one Paris paper noted. "No investigation was made to clear up the affair, and the only arrest made was that of one of the 'nationalist militants' who had been attacked and ventured to defend himself." ("Jewish militants make the law," *Le Libre Journal*, April 27, 1994, p. 9. See also: "The Betar makes the law in the Palace of Justice," *Rivarol*, April 22, 1994, p. 5).

On April 28, 1994, the German citizen Ludwig Watzal, an official guest of the University of Nanterre (near Paris), was struck by members of Jewish or leftist organizations.

Many bookstores have been wrecked. In addition to the Bleu-Blanc-Rouge, Ogmios, Librairie Française, and Librairie de la Vieille Taupe stores,

we may mention the Librairie de la Joyeuse Garde. (In the last-named case, shop windows were broken, steel safety shutters were glued shut, and excrement was strewn around.) Further targets of attacks, for which Jewish organizations claimed responsibility, have been offices, buildings, exhibitions, a book warehouse and a church (Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet in Paris, on December 21, 1978).

The Most Dangerous Place in France

For those who have been targeted for attack by the Jewish militants, the most dangerous city in France is Paris. Within Paris, one of the most dangerous districts is the first district, and within that district the most dangerous place is the Palace of Justice — the central courthouse — and the surrounding area. Paradoxically, this area is under particularly good police surveillance because the Palace has its own "military command" consisting of hundreds of armed guards, and because next to the Palace building is the "Quai des Orfèvres," headquarters of the police crime investigations department. As it happens, though, in recent years the guards and police have permitted many acts of violence to be carried out, especially against revisionists who have been summoned to court or who come to attend the trials.

When a group of Jewish militants decide to burst into the court building, the scenario is invariably as follows: the thugs, whose demeanor betrays their bellicose intentions, are in no way restrained by the guards from their intended victims. No officer attempts to inform these shock troopers that violence will not be tolerated. The assailants are permitted to insult, to provoke, and then to strike their victims. Sometimes guards will make an effort to protect victims. If a militant calls special attention to himself by extreme violence, three guards quickly take him away, but then let him go. Once the militants have completed their brutal work and have disappeared, the guards hasten to the bloody or swollen victims, fussing over them like concerned nannies. The victims are never able to get the police to interrogate the attackers, or even to learn their identities.

On May 9, 1995, a trial in which Professor Faurisson was the defendant was held in the Criminal Court (17th section of the *tribunal correctionnel*) without the interference of such militants. This was not surprising, though, because attorney Jean-Serge Lorach, who represented the plaintiffs in this case, announced in his pleading that he had asked "survivors" and reporters not to attend the trial. All the same, Betar/Tagar chief Moshe Cohen was present in the court with some colleagues. When the trial finished, Cohen was at the court building exit with four men (one of whom had a cellular phone) to

keep an eye on Faurisson, his attorney, and others who were accompanying them. Cohen's team had an unmarked police car (Renault 19 number 356JEK75) parked near the court building gate, positioned to leave quickly. Cohen, the Betar/Tagar group's "dirty jobs" specialist, was apparently there with the authorization of Robert Baujard, police commissioner of Paris' First District, and with the consent of Colonel Roger Renault, commander of the court guards, whose orders were to tell the curious that the vehicle belonged "to the police."

Collusion of the Interior Minister with Jewish Militants

In 1986, when Laurent Fabius was Prime Minister of France, his wife, Mme. Françoise Castro, revealed that the Jewish militants and the Interior Minister were working hand in hand. She stated: "An extraordinary novelty in political behavior: the Left has allowed Jewish militants to establish themselves in some quarters of Paris and also in Toulouse, Marseille, and Strasbourg [and to have] regular contacts with the Interior Minister." (*Le Monde*, March 7, 1986, p. 8). Castro and Fabius are both Jewish.

By a sort of consensus it seems to be generally agreed that the Jews must be treated in France as a privileged minority whose "anger" (*colère*) must be excused. (This word crops up in the press with nagging persistence.) By law, private militia groups are not legal in France. But the authorities allow one exception to this law. Jewish militants are the only ones permitted to bear arms in France. (See the photograph of a Jew armed with an automatic pistol on the roof of a building in the rue de Nazareth. *Libération*, Oct. 14, 1986, p. 56.) France's criminal police investigators are thus paralyzed in their investigations of crimes committed by these militants, who are euphemistically called "young Jewish activists of Paris." These militant groups enjoy at least a partial guarantee of impunity in France. The worst thing their members have to fear is having to go into exile in Germany or Israel for a spell.

Apologists for Jewish Violence

Simone Veil, former secretary general of the Magistrates Council and a former government minister, provides a prime example of persons in France's Jewish community who incite actual murder. In 1985, in connection with Klaus Barbie, she declared: "Listen, I believe very sincerely that I would not have been shocked by a summary execution [of Barbie]" (*Le Monde*, Dec. 24, 1985, p. 14). She repeated the statement on April 22, 1992, during a broadcast shown on the country's Second television network entitled "Vichy: Remembering and Forgetting." During a discussion of the Touvier trial



Millions of viewers saw "Jewish Combat Organization" thugs attack Olivier Mathieu during an interview broadcast on French television, February 6, 1990.

(which had disappointed her, in spite of the life imprisonment sentence handed down against the octogenarian with cancer), she said:

If we wanted a trial in which things are spoken of in their true light and that doesn't turn out like the Touvier trial, well then, in the last analysis it would have been necessary for someone, like me for example, at some moment or other to coldly murder someone.

The murderer would then be in a position, Simone Veil continued, to explain publicly the reasons for his act. She spoke in the same spirit in 1994, on the occasion of the murder of René Bousquet, which was committed by a visionary who had been incited by the frequent calls for vengeance appearing at the time in French newspapers and in Jewish circles. On that occasion, Veil declared: "Besides, if I'd had the courage, I'd have gone and killed him myself." (*Globe Hebdo*, May 11-17, 1994, p. 21).

On December 14, 1992, in report broadcast nationwide on the American PBS radio network, Professor Pierre Vidal-Naquet could be heard saying in English: "I hate Faurisson. If I could, I'd kill him personally."

Calls for physical violence have appeared many times in French papers. An example: "As far as he is concerned, Jacques Kupfer, president of [the militantly Zionist] *Herout de France*, has a precise idea of the Jewish response to the FN [Front National]: 'I have never been of the opinion that anti-Semitism is settled by means of communiqués or philosophical discussions,' he said. 'But I know how you settle the problem of the anti-Semites: in a very physical manner. Jewish young people must be ready for that: there's no need to cry, or to be afraid, or to complain' ..." (Arié Ben Abraham, "Le Pacte communau-



Serge and Beate Klarsfeld

taire" [The Community Pact], *Tribune juive*, week of May 25 to June 1, 1995, p. 15.)

A list of incendiary statements by French Jews in positions of responsibility calling for physical violence would be a long one. Jews do not shrink from political assassination. On this subject, one may read the recent work of Nachman Ben-Yehuda, *Political Assassination by Jews: A Rhetorical Device for Justice* (New York: State Univ. of New York Press, 1993). We know the considerable role played by Jews in the Bolshevik revolution. [See: M. Weber, "The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and Russia's Early Soviet Regime," Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*.] In France, the song of the partisans was written by two Jews, Joseph Kessel (1898-1979) and Maurice Druon, both of whom were later members of the French Academy. The song's refrain is well known: "Hey there! Killers by gun or blade. Kill swiftly!" ("Ohé! Les tueurs à la balle et au couteau. Tuez vite.").

The Klarsfelds

For more than three decades, Serge Klarsfeld and his German-born wife, Beate, have dedicated themselves to tracking down "Nazi war criminals" and fighting "neo-Nazism" and Holocaust revisionism. In his *Lettre à un képi blanc* (1975, p. 93), Bernard Clavel wrote: "War poisons peace. Look at that German woman, Beate Klarsfeld, who passes life in hatred, who lives only for vengeance."

On July 24, 1978, at a news conference in Paris following the indictment in Cologne of Kurt Lischka, Serge Klarsfeld stated: "We are not seeking vengeance. If that were our aim, it would have been easy for us to kill all the Nazi criminals we have tracked down." "And if the court in Cologne refuses to try Lischka?" someone asked. Klarsfeld replied: "That in a way would be signing his death sentence" (*Le Monde*, July 26, 1978, p. 4). In 1982 the Klarsfelds engaged the services of a hired assassin, a Bolivian socialist of Indian origin named Juan Carlos, to assassinate Klaus Barbie (*Life*, Feb. 1985, p. 65), but the operation did not succeed.

During a 1986 interview with the *Chicago Tribune* (June 29, 1986), Beate Klarsfeld told "how she haunted at least three former Nazis until they committed suicide or died; how she organized attempts to kidnap others; how she used headline-making gimmicks to bring to trial or to ruin the careers of many who were convinced the world had forgotten them." She related how she slapped the face of German Chancellor Kurt-Georg Kiesinger in public in 1968. "Once, she and several friends tried to kidnap Kurt Lischka" but the operation failed because the car they were using had only two doors. As for Ernst Ehlers, "harassed by Klarsfeld-organized demonstrations outside his home, he first resigned his position [as judge] and then committed suicide."

After picking up the trail of Walter Rauff in Chile, the Klarsfelds organized demonstrations in front of his house and broke his windows. "He died a couple of months later," Beate Klarsfeld told the American daily. "I was glad, because as long as these people are alive, they are an offense to their victims." "My husband and I are not fanatics ... Once my husband held a pistol to the temple of



On April 20, 1991, several dozen thugs of the "Jewish Action Group" attacked a meeting in Paris of admirers of French writer "Saint-Loup." Léon Gaultier, shown here, is one of 13 persons injured in the attack.

Rauff, just to show that we could kill him, but he didn't pull the trigger."

In 1988, Serge Klarsfeld stated: "No one has really gone after Le Pen in dead earnest. We ought to have provoked confrontations with him so that ... he'd take the most extreme position possible." (*Le Soir* [Brussels], quoted in *Rivarol*, July 1, 1988, p. 5).

In 1991, Beate Klarsfeld entered Syria with fraudulent papers to go after Alois Brunner (who was already disfigured and missing most of his fingers as the result of letter bombs). In front of his presumed residence, she wanted to repeat the kind of demonstration that had been staged in front of the home of Paul Touvier in 1972 (which was broken into, looted, and laid waste). [See: "Alois Brunner Talks About His Past," in the Spring 1990 *Journal*, pp. 123ff.]

In 1992, the Klarsfelds organized what *Le Monde* (Oct. 21, 1992, p. 4) called "the savage escapade of the Betar at Rostock ... spreading terror in the central square of the Rostock town hall, with French and Israeli flags displayed, calling passersby 'dirty Germans, dirty Nazis!'" A short time later Beate Klarsfeld expressed approval of the Betar attack against the Goethe Institute (German cultural center) in Paris, calling it an act of "legitimate violence" because the Rostock police had briefly held and questioned a few of the Jewish attackers. (*Der Standard* [Vienna], Oct. 23, 1992). Nine of the policemen had been injured, among them several who required hospitalization after being beaten with baseball bats and iron bars, and sprayed with "defensive" gas.

On June 8, 1993, René Bousquet, former secretary general of the police in the wartime Vichy government (and who was later deported by the Germans), was struck down in his Paris residence by a fanatic. The attacker, who spewed out verbiage à la Klarsfeld, explained his action as that of a lover of justice who had already tried to kill Paul Touvier. Writing in the French daily *Le Monde* (June 10, 1993, p. 28), Annick Cojean referred to Serge Klarsfeld: "Was he not the slayer of Bousquet? The one who had tracked him down, pursued him, attacked him, forced him to resign from his every position from 1978 to 1989? And was he not [by this killing] robbed of a long awaited trial? The lawyer [Klarsfeld] quietly smiles: 'Why deny it? What I feel today is relief above all. And if that runs counter to the interests of the trial, so be it! I can't be worrying about what those people want. That's too much for me'."

Already on September 16, 1989, upon learning of the attack against Professor Faurisson, Serge Klarsfeld had stated in a broadcast on "Radio J" ("J" for "Jewish"):



France's double standard in the treatment of Zionist and "skinhead" criminals is pointed up in this "Chard" cartoon. "I hope they're not ready to come out, the swine," says a Jewish militant as he leaves prison.

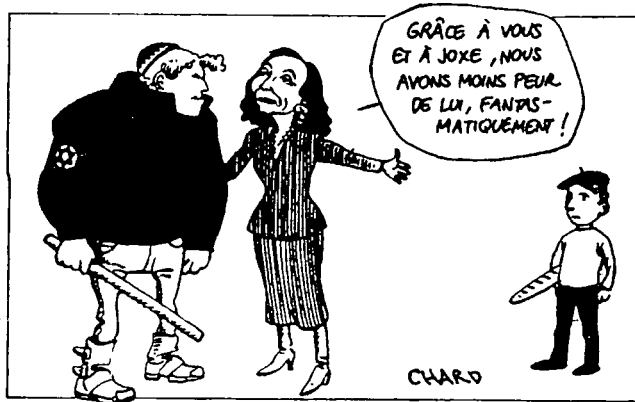
It's not so surprising, because anyone who provokes the Jewish community for years on end has to expect an occurrence of this kind. You can't insult the memory of the victims without there being consequences. That may be regrettable, perhaps, but it's normal and only natural.

His wife, Beate, similarly stated: "What could be more normal than that some young people may have gotten angry and tried to teach Faurisson a lesson?." (*Le Monde*, Sept. 19, 1989, p. 14).

Although Serge Klarsfeld is an attorney and an officer of the National Order of Merit, he has never concealed his taste for violent action as long as the victims are persons he regards as "criminals." In the same spirit, he has also admitted resorting to lies and blackmail. (See: Arno Klarsfeld, "Pourquoi je suis juif" ["Why I am a Jew"], *Information juive*, June 1994, p. 9, and, S. Klarsfeld, "Lettre à François Mitterrand," *Libération*, Sept. 12, 1994, p. 6.)

In 1989, following the nearly fatal attack against him in Vichy, Faurisson shared some thoughts with *Choc du mois* (Dec. 1989, pp. 42f.) — remarks that have become all the more relevant with the passage of time and, in particular, the assassination of Bousquet. For the Klarsfelds or other such friends of the Israeli Embassy in Paris, said the Professor, "it is easy to arouse strong feelings and to stir into action those who mean to take justice into their own hands." Faurisson concluded:

I think ... that a Jewish terrorism exists. It is lamentable, and the lament covers the sounds of the blows and the screams of the victims... In order to silence me, it will be necessary to



Referring to the sanction given Jewish militants by French authorities, this cartoon shows Mme. Françoise Castro, wife of French Prime Minister Laurent Fabius, telling a Jewish thug "Thanks to you and Joxe, we are less afraid of him. It's fantastic."

kill me. And a host of revisionists in France and abroad will then take my place.

Intimidation and Pressure

This essay deals with acts of *physical* violence committed by Jewish militant groups. It confirms that in this country the Jewish community, "happy as God in France" (a Yiddish proverb), enjoys exorbitant privileges. Other, *non-physical* actions further highlight these privileges. Consider two cases involving Robert Faurisson, at the University of Lyon II, and Bernard Notin, at the University of Lyon III. By law, each of these professors was incontestably entitled to practice his profession and resume his lectures.

Dr. Marc Aron decided otherwise. Along with such organizations as the Union of Jewish Students of France, he cynically declared that as far as they were concerned, these two teachers would *never again* be able to work. Without so much as a murmur, all the presidents of the Republic in succession, all the prime ministers, all the Education Ministers, all the university presidents, and all the labor unions promptly submitted to that edict.

Several months after the decision, Prof. Faurisson learned in a letter delivered by ordinary mail, and with no form of explanation, that his professorship had been eliminated.

In June 1994 Bernard Notin thought he had found a way out of this problem, and *Le Monde* announced (June 9, 1994, p. 14) that "Bernard Notin is leaving to teach in Morocco." But a few days later *Le Monde* reported (June 11, 1994, p. 6) that the announcement of his departure for the University of Oujda "had provoked a reaction of 'shock' [*scandalisée*] on the part of the Union of Jewish Stu-

dents of France (UEJF), which demands the cancellation of the contract signed by the two institutions (French and Moroccan) and 'the definitive dismissal of M. Notin from the teaching profession'."

Not a single major newspaper raised its voice to point out that Marc Aron and his institutions or organizations were gravely infringing on the rights of civil servants, hindering the freedom to work, and inflicting considerable injury not only to individuals but to the normal functioning of the country's institutions. In fear and trembling, French authorities acquiesced to Marc Aron and his militants. After seeing to it that two professors who had aroused their "anger" were no longer allowed to practice their profession, Aron and his friends were able to count on *Le canard enchaîné*, a satirical journal that specializes in denouncing scandals, to proclaim the "scandal" of two professors who are paid (on short allowance) for not working.

Organized Jewry and its influential cohorts excel in repression through the legal system and the media. "The unjust force of the law" operates on behalf of the Jewish community, and to the detriment of those who are labelled "anti-Jewish" or "anti-Semitic." Those who are so labelled find themselves severely punished for the least word or thought judged to be heretical. Fines, damages and imprisonment ruin their lives and destroy their families. The media, whose venom glands never run dry, contribute their part to this hysteria of vengeance.

In other countries as well, Jewish terrorism manifests the same characteristics. Apart from the extraordinary circumstances of the Judeo-Arab conflict, Jews act as aggressors without themselves ever being subject to physical attack by any group or organization, either anti-Jewish or reputed to be.

Conclusion

During the period under consideration here (1976-June 1995), no group, commando or militant has committed an act of physical violence against a Jew in France. (Attacks in the unusual context of the Arab-Jewish conflict are another matter.) But this remarkable fact seems to have escaped political observers of every stripe. The balance sheet up to now is as follows: on the one hand, some 50 acts of Jewish violence organized and carried out over a 20-year period by armed militants, resulting in hundreds of victims; and, on the other hand, not a single organized act of violence against a Jew.

With the Betar/Tagar organization, France's well-organized Jewish community possesses — with Interior Ministry approval — a paramilitary force the like of which does not exist for any other ethnic, religious or minority group in France.

As *Le Choc du mois* noted in its report on these

militant groups (June 1991, p. 11), the Fifth French television network, on April 4, 1990, broadcast a program on the Betar/Tagar militants. It showed a student receiving a beating at the hands of the "Tagarim" as he was leaving the (university) Faculté d'Assas in Paris.

On May 18, 1990, this same television network broadcast a second report devoted to the training of Betar/Tagar militants, "copied after that of the Israeli soldier," which they receive two times a week at a chateau in the vicinity of Sarcelles (a suburb of Paris): paramilitary exercises and close action combat training under the Israeli flag. Such exercises might conceivably be carried out for show, as a sort of "cinema" to impress people. But the training of Betar/Tagar militants finds expression in criminal attacks and commando operations that enjoy Interior Ministry protection, support (in fact if not in words) from so-called "anti-racist" organizations, and sympathetic treatment on the part of the media.

Annie Kriegel, who is Jewish, in 1990 denounced "an intolerable Jewish thought police" (*Le Figaro*, April 3, 1990, p. 2, and, *L'Arche*, April 1990, p. 25). In fact, this "thought police" acts with the authority of law, thanks to Rabbi Sirat, who launched the idea of an anti-revisionist law (*Bulletin de l'Agence télégraphique juive*, June 2, 1986, p. 1), and thanks to Laurent Fabius, who can justly claim credit for taking the parliamentary initiative in passing the law. (The Fabius-Gayssot law makes it a crime to "contest crimes against humanity" as defined by the 1946 Judgment of the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal. On the basis of this law, several legal actions have been brought against Prof. Faurisson and many other revisionists. See, for example: "French Court Fines Faurisson, Roques for 'Holocaust Denial' Book," Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 13-17.) As a result of the disgustingly hyperbolic and obsequious media coverage of the desecration of Jewish graves in the Carpentras cemetery — a crime in which, it turns out, the son of a synagogue officiant was apparently involved — all opposition to the final vote on the Sirat-Fabius-Gayssot law was paralyzed.

Alongside this outrageous thought police, there exists in France an intolerable Israeli-style armed police that operates with unconcealed force.

A useful source of information about this entire subject is the detailed 416-page book by Emmanuel Ratier, *Les Guerriers d'Israël: Enquête sur les milices sionistes* ("The Warriors of Israel: An investigation of Zionist militant groups," *Facta*, 37, rue d'Amsterdam, 75008 Paris, 1995).

On May 7, 1995, in Toronto (Canada), the home of revisionist Ernst Zündel was devastated in a criminal arson attack. A few days later, Zündel

received a booby-trapped package (which he turned over to the police, who exploded it). Many other examples of this kind of violence — usually preceded by a hateful press campaign — could be cited. Further information on this subject is given in *The Zionist Terror Network: Background and Operation of the Jewish Defense League and other Criminal Zionist Groups*, a booklet by Mark Weber published by the Institute for Historical Review (revised and updated edition, 1993).

There is a danger that such acts of violence will grow in number in France if the Jewish minority continues to have armed groups of militants at its disposal. Similar acts of terrorism will doubtless continue in France as long as the Jewish community continues to enjoy a privileged status in the country.

Pending such a drastic change, at least the Palace of Justice in Paris and its immediate surroundings should be closed off to any group or leader of any group (such as Moshe Cohen) whose terrorist intentions are manifest. It is outrageous that a certain category of persons who have been summoned to court, and those accompanying them, have had to fear physical attack while entering or leaving the 17th *chambre correctionnelle* court (presided over by Martine Ract-Madoux or Jean-Yves Monfort), or the 11th section of the Court of Appeals (presided over by Françoise Simon or Violette Hannoun).

Speaking of attacks against revisionists carried out in and in front of the court building, Jean-Pierre Bloch exclaimed in 1980: "The pip-squeak little Nazis got the thrashing they deserved in front of the Palace of Justice." (*Libération*, Sept. 24, 1980). It is shocking that Jewish militants are permitted to hang out at the court house with all the privileges accorded to officers of the national police. No one can pretend to be ignorant of these acts of physical violence, which the LICRA president was publicly sanctioning 15 years ago and which, for the past 15 years, have been occurring with the *complicity* of the forces of law and order. For 15 years, neither the magistrates nor the lawyers nor their respective labor unions have demanded that an end be put to this — a state of affairs that dishonors French justice.

As for Moshe Cohen, he should be reminded of his statement made a few years ago to *L'Événement du jeudi* (Sept. 26, 1991), that every Jew in France is "a displaced person" who has his real roots and future in Israel. He should heed his own advice, and should settle permanently there.

"Human history is a race between education and disaster."

— H. G. Wells

When an American President Said No to Israel

How Eisenhower Forced Israel to End Occupation After Sinai Crisis

DONALD NEFF

It was 39 years ago, on March 16, 1957, that Israel withdrew under unrelenting United States pressure from all the territory it had occupied in the Sinai peninsula during its invasion of Egypt less than five months earlier. As Israeli forces pulled out, they ignored pleas from United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld and displayed their contempt for US President Dwight D. Eisenhower's policy by systematically destroying all surfaced roads, railway tracks and telephone lines. All buildings in the tiny villages of Abu Ageila and El Quseima were destroyed, as were the military buildings around El Arish.¹

Israel's dogged insistence on keeping by military occupation parts of the Sinai had led to increasingly tense relations between Eisenhower and Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion. From the very beginning of what became known as the Suez crisis Eisenhower had forcefully opposed the secret plot by Britain, France and Israel to invade Egypt. Against great political pressures, Ike had managed to stop the ill-considered invasion—but not before Israeli troops grabbed Egypt's Sinai peninsula in a lightning surprise attack starting October 29, 1956.

Britain and France followed Eisenhower's firm advice and quickly removed their troops from Egypt. But Israel insisted on retaining parts of the peninsula. Despite repeated U.S. urgings, Ben-Gurion refused to withdraw Israeli troops. In retaliation, Eisenhower joined with 75 other nations in the UN General Assembly in passing a resolution on February 2, 1957, "deploring" Israel's occupation. Only two nations opposed: France and Israel.²

Still, Ben-Gurion refused to move his troops. On February 11, Eisenhower sent a forceful note to

Ben-Gurion to withdraw. Again Ben-Gurion refused. At the same time, the influence of Israel's supporters became intense. The White House was besieged by efforts to halt its pressure on the Jewish state; 41 Republican and 75 Democratic congressmen signed a letter urging support for Israel.³

'Terrific Control'

In reaction to mounting pressures against his policy, Eisenhower on February 20 called a meeting of the congressional leadership to seek their support for his position. But the lawmakers, sensitive to the influence of the Israeli lobby, refused to help, causing Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to complain to a friend: "I am aware how almost impossible it is in this country to carry out a foreign policy [in the Middle East] not approved by the Jews." In other conversations around the same time, Dulles remarked on the⁴

terrific control the Jews have over the news media and the barrage which the Jews have built up on congressmen ... I am very much concerned over the fact that the Jewish influence here is completely dominating the scene and making it almost impossible to get Congress to do anything they don't approve of. The Israeli Embassy is practically dictating to the Congress through influential Jewish people in the country.

Disgusted with Congress's timidity, Eisenhower boldly decided to take his case directly to the American people. He went on national television on the evening of February 20 and explained:⁵

Should a nation which attacks and occupies foreign territory in the face of United Nations disapproval be allowed to impose conditions on its own withdrawal? If we agreed that armed attack can properly achieve the purposes of the assailant, then I fear we will have turned back the clock of international order.

If the United Nations once admits that international disputes can be settled by using force, then we will have destroyed the very foundation of the

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organization and our best hope of establishing world order. The United Nations must not fall. I believe that in the interests of peace the United Nations has no choice but to exert pressure upon Israel to comply with the withdrawal resolutions.

Not Words Alone

Ike did not depend only on words. While he expressed his principled position in public, privately that same day he sent a stern message to Ben-Gurion warning of punitive actions if Israel did not withdraw. Eisenhower threatened that he would approve trade sanctions against Israel and might also cut off all private assistance to Israel, which amounted to \$40 million in tax-deductible donations and \$60 million annually in the purchase of bonds.⁶ This combination of public diplomacy and private grit paid off. On February 27, Israel announced it accepted the U.S. position on withdrawal.⁷

Although Zionists continue to criticize Eisenhower to this day, painting his policy as flawed and shortsighted, his actions in the Suez crisis represent one of the brightest, most principled victories of US diplomacy. Eisenhower had acted, as he later recalled, on the basis of his belief that "change based on principle is progress; constant change without principle becomes chaos."⁸ In detailing his thinking, Ike wrote in his memoirs:⁹

Some critics have said that the United States should have sided with the British and French in the Middle East, that it was fatuous to lean so heavily on the United Nations. If we had taken the advice, where would it have led us? Would we now be, with them, an occupying power in a seething Arab world? If so, I am sure we would regret it. During the campaign, some political figures kept talking of our failure to 'back Israel.' If the administration had been incapable of withstanding this kind of advice in an election year, could the United Nations thereafter have retained any influence whatsoever? This, I definitely doubt.

America and Eisenhower emerged from the crisis with enhanced moral authority and prestige around the world. Noted Eisenhower's major biographer, Stephen E. Ambrose: "Eisenhower's insistence on the primacy of the UN, of treaty obligations, and of the rights of all nations gave the United States a standing in world opinion it had never before achieved."¹⁰

'Champion of Right'

This became immediately clear to American diplomats. Ike's UN ambassador, Henry Cabot Lodge, telephoned the president and reported at one point

during the crisis: "Never had there been such a tremendous acclaim for the president's policy. Absolutely spectacular." From Cairo, Ambassador Raymond Hare cabled: "The US has suddenly emerged as a real champion of right."¹¹ Added Ambrose: "The small nations of the world could hardly believe that the United States would support a Third World country, Egypt, in a struggle with colonial powers that were America's two staunchest allies, or that the United States would support Arabs against Israeli aggression. But it was true, and the small nations were full of admiration and delight. The introduction of the American [cease-fire] resolution to the UN was, indeed, one of the great moments in UN history."¹²

Eisenhower's handling of the crisis was a high point of his presidency. It upheld the authority and moral stance of the United Nations and the ideals of the United States. As difficult and painful as his actions were to take against such traditional allies as Britain and France, Eisenhower nonetheless had spurned short-term political gain and instead acted out of principle.

A Far Different Story

It was a far different story when Israel lashed out again eleven years later [June 1967], this time occupying not only the Sinai but lands of Jordan and Syria. Lyndon B. Johnson was president, and he had neither Ike's international experience nor his political strength. Instead Johnson was a fervent supporter of Israel, acutely aware of its influence in domestic politics, and made the fateful mistake of not taking any action to oppose Israel's acquisition of territory by force in 1967.

This led directly to the 1973 war in which Egypt and Syria sought to regain their land. After that war, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, a critic of Ike's Suez policy, made another fateful mistake. He accepted Israel's "right" to use the territories it illegally held in occupation as bargaining chips for a number of conditions for withdrawal.

Before Kissinger was through, he had managed to give to Israel the largest transfer of US treasury, technology and diplomatic support ever voluntarily granted by one country to another. In return, Israel surrendered minor tracts of land but maintained its occupation over nearly two million Palestinians for two decades more.



Donald Neff



Henry Kissinger

Secret Agreements

This astonishing bargain reached its culmination on September 4, 1975, with the signing of the second Sinai disengagement agreement between Egypt and Israel.¹³ Beyond promises of aid to Israel at around a \$2 billion annual level for each of the next five years,¹⁴ Kissinger signed a sweeping series of secret understandings providing a broad array of pledges to Israel. One of these committed the United States to "make every effort to be fully responsive...on an on-going and long-term basis to Israel's military equipment and other defense requirements, to its energy requirements and to its economic needs." The memorandum officially committed American support against threats by a "world power," meaning the Soviet Union.

In essence, Sinai II, as it became known, formally allied the United States with Israel and its occupation of Arab lands. As then-Defense Minister Shimon Peres observed at the time: "The ... agreement has delayed [an international peace conference in] Geneva, while ... assuring us arms, money, a coordinated policy with Washington and quiet in Sinai We gave up a little to get a lot."¹⁵

Indeed, in return for all this Israel gave up only a few miles of desert territory in the Sinai that nearly every nation in the world believed it had no right to keep under military occupation. It retained all of Jordan's West Bank, all of Syria's Golan Heights and about half of Egypt's Sinai. But unlike

Eisenhower, who did not pay a penny for Israel's 1957 withdrawal, Kissinger and President Gerald Ford paid a fortune, mainly because they had failed to stand by principle and instead favored Israel to gain partisan political advantage.

Consequences of Kissinger's Policy

Kissinger's policy was prohibitively costly to the United States. By making Israel the military superpower of the region, the Kissinger policy also led to tragic events. These included Israel's bloody 1982 invasion of Lebanon, an action based on its new arrogance of power stemming from US-supplied weaponry. Even graver, however, was the fact that Israel was allowed by Washington to continue its occupation and settlement of Jordanian and Syrian land. This occurred during the same period that the United States became Israel's major patron and supporter starting in the 1970s under President Richard M. Nixon and Kissinger.

The dramatic increase of US aid while Israel violated official US policy against military occupation was a declaration to the world that where the Jewish state was concerned politics outweighed principle. These events led to the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995. Yigal Amir, the murderer, was one of the Jewish fanatics who emerged during the long occupation and were dedicated to retaining the occupied territories. Had Kissinger, like Ike, driven Israel off the occupied land, Amir's motive for the assassination would never have existed. The occupation would not have lasted nearly three decades and the extremist cult devoted to keeping the land that began growing strong in Israel in the 1970s would not have come into being.

As a final irony, Kissinger to this day is considered a great statesman for his Sinai agreement, while the Suez crisis and Ike's brave actions are barely remembered. David Halberstam did not even bother mentioning the 1956 crisis in his recent best-selling book *The Fifties*, dedicated to the major events of that decade. That is more than a sad commentary on the relative merits of the policies pursued by the two men. It is a stunning reminder of how strong Zionist influence is in the American media when it comes to molding perceptions of US policy in the Middle East.

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Notes

1. Burns, *Between Arab and Israeli*, p. 243.
2. Resolution 1124 (XI). Text in Tomeh, *United Nations Resolutions on Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Vol. 1, p. 39.
3. Rubenberg, *Israel and the American National Interest*, p. 78.
4. Transcripts of Dulles telephone conversations on Feb. 11, 12 and 19, 1957. Quoted in Neff, *Warriors at Suez*, p. 433.
5. Text is in US State Department, *American Foreign Policy Current Documents, 1957*, pp. 923-28. Also see Love, *Suez*, p. 666.
6. Neff, *Warriors at Suez*, pp. 433-35.
7. Dana Adams Schmidt, *The New York Times*, Feb. 28, 1957.
8. Eisenhower, *Waging Peace*, p. 13.
9. Eisenhower, *Waging Peace*, p. 99.
10. Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, p. 361.
11. Neff, *Warriors at Suez*, p. 417.
12. Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, p. 361.
13. Text of the agreement and of the memorandum of understanding (MOU) and its secret addenda are in Medzini, *Israel's Foreign Relations, Selected Documents, 1974-77* (Vol. 3), pp. 281-90. Also see Sheehan, *The Arabs, Israelis, and Kissinger*, Appendix Eight.
14. Over the next five years the State Department reported total aid to Israel equalled \$1.742 billion in 1977, \$1.792 billion in 1978, \$4.790 billion in 1979, \$1.786 billion in 1980 and \$2.164 billion in 1981. See *The New York Times*, August 8, 1982.
15. Sheehan, *The Arabs, Israelis, and Kissinger*, p. 192. Peres refused to be identified in the article but the author was head of the Time bureau at the time and one of his reporters interviewed Peres for the quote.

Eisenhower's Farewell Warning

On January 17, 1961, a few days before concluding his second term in office, President Dwight Eisenhower delivered a stern "farewell address" to the nation. Although best known for his warning about the power and influence of the "military industrial complex," he expressed other grave concerns about America's future. Some excerpts:

We now stand ten years past the midpoint of a century that has witnessed four major wars among great nations. Three of them involved our own country. Despite these holocausts America is today the strongest, the most influential and most productive nation in the world. Understandably proud of this preeminence we yet realize that America's leadership and prestige depend, not merely upon our unmatched material progress, riches and military strength, but on how we use our power in the interests of world peace and human betterment ...

Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well. But now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations.

This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence — economic, political, even spiritual — is felt in every city, every statehouse, every office of the federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.

Akin to, and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture, has been the technological revolution during recent decades. In this revolution, research has become central; it also becomes more formalized, complex and costly. A steadily increasing share is conducted for, by, or at the direction of the federal government ... The prospect of domination of the nation's scholars by federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is ever present — and is gravely to be regarded ...

... As we peer into society's future, we — you and I, and our government — must avoid the impulse to live only for today, plundering, for our own ease and convenience, the precious resources of tomorrow. We cannot mortgage the material assets of our grandchildren without risking the loss also of their political and spiritual heritage ...

World War II and the Military-Industrial-Congressional Complex

ROBERT HIGGS

On January 17, 1961, just before leaving office, President Dwight D. Eisenhower gave a farewell address to the nation in which he called attention to the "conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry." He warned that "in the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist."

As Eisenhower spoke, the military-industrial complex was celebrating its twentieth birthday. The vast economic and administrative apparatus for the creation and deployment of weapons took its enduring shape during the two years preceding the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. It grew to gargantuan proportions during the war, then survived and flourished during the four decades of the Cold War. By the 1950s, members of Congress had insinuated themselves into positions of power in the complex, so that one is well justified in calling it the military-industrial-congressional complex (MICC) during the past forty years.

The powerful role played by the MICC in the second half of the twentieth century testifies to a fact that Americans have seldom faced squarely: World War II did not end in a victory for the forces of freedom; to an equal or greater extent, the defeat of Nazi Germany and its allies represented a victory for the forces of totalitarian oppression in the Soviet Union and, later, its surrogates around the world. Hence, in 1945, Americans merely traded one set of aggressive enemies for another. In reality, the war did not end until the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the degeneration of its armed forces in the early 1990s. In America, the long war — from

1940 to 1990 — solidified the MICC as an integral part of the political economy.

Its antecedents hardly suggested how quickly and hugely the MICC would grow. Prewar military budgets were very small: during the fiscal years 1922-1939 they averaged just \$744 million, roughly one percent of GNP. In those days, military purchases were transacted according to rigidly specified legal procedures. Normally, the military purchaser publicly advertised its demand for a definite quantity of a specific item, accepted sealed bids, and automatically awarded the contract to the lowest bidder. Moreover, few businessmen wanted military business or any dealings with the New Deal government. When *Fortune* magazine surveyed business executives in October 1940, it found that seventy-seven percent had reservations about doing rearmament work because of their "belief that the present administration in Washington is strongly antibusiness and [their] consequent discouragement over the practicability of cooperation with this administration on rearmament."

But conditions changed dramatically between mid-1940 and late 1941. During that period, Congress appropriated \$36 billion for the War Department alone — more than the army and navy combined had spent during World War I. With congressional authorization, the War and Navy departments switched from using mainly sealed-bid contracts to mainly negotiated contracts, often providing that the contractor be paid his full costs, however much they might be, plus a fixed fee. Contracts could be changed to accommodate changes in the contractor's circumstances or poor management in performing the work. In these and other ways, military contracting was rendered less risky and more rewarding. As Secretary of War Henry Stimson said at the time, "If you are going to try to go to war, or to prepare for war, in a capitalistic country, you have got to let business make money out of the process or business won't work."



Robert Higgs

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Great Profits

Businessmen worked, to be sure, and they made money — far more than anyone had dreamed of making during the Depression. Much of the more than \$300 billion the government spent for war goods and services ended up in the pockets of the contractors and their employees. According to a contemporary study, rates of return on net worth ranged from twenty-two percent for the largest companies to forty-nine percent for the smaller firms — extraordinary profits given that the contractors bore little or no risk. Large manufacturing firms enjoyed the bulk of the business. The top one hundred prime contractors received about two-thirds of the awards by value; the top ten got about thirty percent; the leading contractor, General Motors, accounted for nearly eight percent. The military research and development contracts with private corporations were even more concentrated. The top sixty-eight corporations got two-thirds of the R&D awards; the top ten took in nearly two-fifths of the total.

The government itself became the dominant investor, providing more than \$17 billion, or two-thirds of all investment, during the war. Besides bankrolling ammunition plants, the government built shipyards, steel and aluminum mills, chemical plants, and many other industrial facilities. Thanks to government investment and purchases, the infant aircraft industry soared to become the nation's largest, building 297,000 aircraft by the war's end. One might justifiably call this government investment "war socialism."

Concentration of Power

But it had a peculiarly American twist that makes "war fascism" a more accurate description. Most of the government-financed plants were operated not directly by the government but by a relatively small group of contractors. Just twenty-six firms enjoyed the use of half the value of all governmentally financed industrial facilities leased to private contractors as of June 30, 1944. The top 168 contractors using such plants enjoyed the use of more than eighty-three percent of all such facilities by value. This concentration had important implications for the character of the postwar industrial structure because the operator of a government-owned, contractor-operated facility usually held an option to buy it after the war, and many contractors did exercise their options.

The arrangements created in 1940 and refined during the next five years completely transformed the relations between the government and its military contractors. In the words of Elberton Smith, the official army historian of the mobilization, the relationship "was gradually transformed from an



President Dwight Eisenhower

'arms length' relationship between two more or less equal parties in a business transaction into an undefined but intimate relationship." The hostility that businessmen had felt toward the government in 1940 evolved into a keen appreciation of how much a company could gain by working hand-in-glove with the military.

During the Cold War these relationships became institutionalized. Between 1948 and 1989, the government spent more than \$10 trillion (in dollars of today's purchasing power) for national defense, and much of the money found its way into the bank accounts of the defense contractors, their employees, and their suppliers. The procurement business remained as it had become during the war — fluid and subject to mutually beneficial adjustment. Transactions were not so much firm deals as ongoing joint enterprises among colleagues and friends in which military officials and businessmen cooperated to achieve a common goal not incompatible with, but rather highly facilitative of, the pursuit of their separate interests.

Profitable Interdependence

Aside from the serenity that attends the spend-

ing of other people's money, military-industrial dealings were smoothed by the personal passages back and forth across the border between the government and the contractors. People spoke of the "old boy network" and the "revolving door." Upon retirement, thousands of military officers found immediate employment with the contractors, while industry officials routinely occupied high-ranking positions in the Pentagon bureaucracy during leaves from their firms. It was easy to forget who worked for whom. As General James P. Mullins, former commander of the Air Force Logistics Command, remarked, the defense business "is not business as usual among *independent* parties. This is a family affair among terribly *interdependent* parties."

The families tended to do well. When Ruben Trevino and I made a study of the profitability of defense contracting (published in *Defence Economics*, 1992, pages 211-218), we found that during the period 1970-1989, the profit rates of the top fifty defense contractors substantially exceeded those of comparable nondefense companies. This conclusion holds regardless of whether profits are measured by the firms' accounting rate of return on investment or assets or by the stock-market payoff to shareholders in the form of dividends and capital gains. We also found that investing in defense contractors was not significantly riskier than investing in comparable nondefense companies. In short, this business has been very good to those involved in it.

Even when companies got into trouble, they could expect to be bailed out. Lockheed, Litton, General Dynamics, Chrysler, Grumman, and other leading defense contractors demonstrated that the Pentagon's propensity to protect its big prime contractors outweighed the inclination to hold them to the terms of their contracts. To subsidize the favored firms, the Department of Defense provided for subsidies to keep facilities open and to finance ongoing R&D, loans and loan guarantees, government-supplied plants and equipment, tax breaks, and strategic placement of new contracts.

Wasteful Spending

Congress, as usual, went where the money was. Defense-related jobs served as a major determinant of congressional defense decisions for both liberals and conservatives. Members of Congress strove to steer contracts and subcontracts to favored constituents, who rewarded them in turn with lavish campaign contributions, votes, and other payoffs. Congressional micro-management of the defense program grew ever more elaborate as lawmakers grasped new opportunities to control the disposition of defense resources. Resistance to base closures, in particular, prompted the most exquisite legislative

maneuvers. For more than a decade after 1977, the Pentagon found it impossible to close any large defense facility, no matter how obsolete or otherwise unwarranted. Weapons systems no longer desired by the military, such as A-7 and A-10 aircraft in the early 1980s, got extended funding, thanks to the efforts of friendly legislators.

Military Adventurism

This waste of money had many other pernicious consequences. With great corporations, powerful military authorities, and members of Congress all linked in a mutually self-serving complex, there was little incentive to end the Cold War. Not that anyone craved World War III. But wealth, position, power, and perquisites all rode on the shoulders of the MICC. The best of all worlds, then, was massive, ongoing preparation for war that would never occur. But with the nation well-prepared for war, national leaders launched more readily into military adventures like those in Korea and Vietnam, not to mention a variety of smaller projections of force abroad. Among the costs of the MICC, we might count the more than 112,000 American deaths sustained in the Cold War's hot engagements.

In retrospect, we can see clearly that World War II spawned the MICC and that the war's long continuation as the Cold War created the conditions in which the MICC could survive and prosper. America's economy sacrificed much of its potential dynamism as the massive commitment of resources to military R&D diverted them from the civilian opportunities being pursued with great success in Japan, Germany, and elsewhere. For the period 1948-1989, national defense spending consumed, on average, 7.5 percent of American GNP. The costs to liberty were also great, as national defense authorities, using the FBI, CIA, and other agencies, violated people's constitutional rights on a wide scale.

When we are tempted to look back at World War II as the "good war," we would do well to consider the full range of its consequences.

Lying

"He who permits himself to tell a lie once, finds it much easier to do it a second and a third time, till at length it becomes habitual; he tells lies without attending to it, and truths without the world's believing him. This falsehood of the tongue leads to that of the heart, and in time depraves all its good dispositions."

— Thomas Jefferson, August 19, 1785

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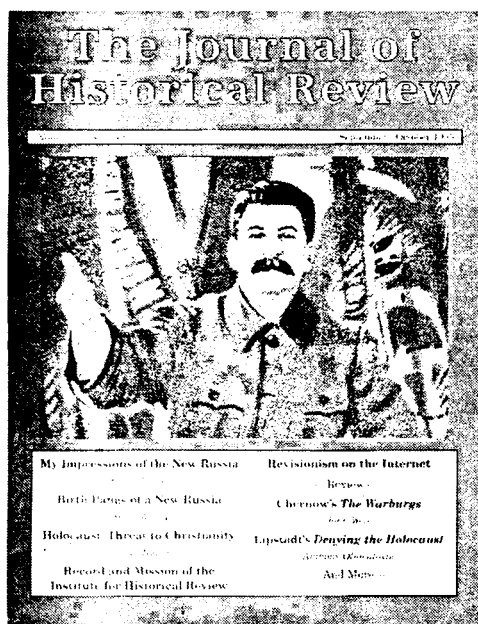
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A New Version of the Holocaust Story

ROBERT FAURISSON

More than two years ago — in an essay I wrote on September 22, 1993 — I said that one day organized Jewry eventually would be obliged to give up the lie about Nazi gas chambers, while at the same time still insisting that “the Holocaust” is an irrefutable truth. That day came in December 1995, when a lengthy article, “De mythe van de efficiënte massamoord” (“The myth of the efficient mass murder”), written by a Dutch university professor of Polish-Jewish ancestry, appeared in the Netherlands journal *Intermediair* (Dec. 15, 1995).

While Prof. Michel Korzec predictably criticizes the revisionists, he also acknowledges the value of their arguments, and calls for an end to the legal persecution of revisionism. The revisionists, he writes, “are especially active in the United States, England, France, Germany, Belgium, Sweden and Australia. They publish books and organize scholarly conferences and symposia ... The American revisionists publish their scholarly-appearing magazine in California under the title *Journal of Historical Research* [sic] ... The worldwide club of Holocaust revisionists is a very mixed group. It certainly includes neo-Nazis, but also anarchists, (ex-) Marxists and even people of Jewish ancestry.”

Korzec declares that too much emphasis has been placed on the gas chambers and the number of gassed victims. With almost cabalistic dialectic adroitness, he argues that it is the Germans, and not the Jews, who are responsible for this error. “Were six million Jews really killed by the Nazis, as affirmed at Nuremberg and elsewhere?” Korzec asks. His answer is: “Very likely...the final figure is five million.” He then adds: “Of this five million perhaps 700,000 to 800,000 were gassed.” Korzec does not tell us how he arrives at these figures, which is all the more remarkable because he acknowledges that he does not know how many Jews perished in camps such as Treblinka and Sobibor, or even in Auschwitz or Birkenau. He writes: “In other extermination camps as well, such as Treblinka and Sobibor, fewer people were killed than has so far been affirmed or assumed. How many fewer? We still don’t know.”



Robert Faurisson at the April 1993 IHR meeting in suburban Washington, DC.

For half a century, Korzec maintains, “American, Russian, English and Israeli propaganda has held fast to the ‘industrial-bureaucratic’ interpretation of the Holocaust. This interpretation gives the demonic character of this mass murder a special dimension.” According to this view, only a few Germans were involved in a small number of chemical slaughterhouse killings.

In fact, writes Korzec, “most of the Jews were killed by primitive means: shooting, beating, hanging, starvation.” Because the “final solution” killings were carried out on “local initiative” in numerous locations in eastern Europe, many more

Germans took part in the "mass murder" than has been assumed. In other words, he maintains, the fewer the number of gassed Jews, the greater the number of "guilty" Germans. Consistent with this thesis, Korzec shamelessly suggests that Germany's judicial authorities punish people for "Holocaust denial" (which is often referred to there as "the Auschwitz lie") in order to give credibility to a view that is favorable to the Germans — namely that only a small number of Germans participated in the "mass murder" of Jews.

Flemish-Belgian publisher Siegfried Verbeke, who has shown extraordinary courage in bringing out numerous revisionist books and a revisionist periodical, reproduces in facsimile the entire text of Korzec's *Intermediair* article in a recent issue of his *VHO Nieuwsbrief*. Verbeke regards this article as significant because a Dutch professor is promoting a public discussion that is taboo in the Netherlands. (For more about Verbeke and his VHO Foundation, see the Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*, p. 46).

Swiss educator Jürgen Graf, author of several revisionist works in German and French, shows similar courage and dedication. (I am grateful to him for the translation of Korzec's article.) Graf wonders if Korzec's article is a unique view, or if it is perhaps a "trial balloon" to test public reaction to a new version of the Holocaust story. He tends to believe the second hypothesis, because he doubts that a Jewish professor could afford to show such audacity in publishing this article in the Netherlands without first consulting the country's Jewish leaders.

I, for one, regard this article as a personal initiative of Prof. Korzec, but also as part of an inevitable process by the Jews themselves to revise Holocaust history. The Jews have already abandoned the "Jewish soap" myth (that the Germans made soap bars from the bodies of their victims), while at the same time impudently claiming that this lie was invented by the Germans. Jews have similarly given up the claim of four million Auschwitz victims, while insolently contending that this is a lie of Polish origin.

Accordingly, I am not surprised that a Jewish professor now argues that the story of the gas chambers as the *main* "Holocaust" instrument is a lie that serves German interests. Nine years ago, two French Jews put forward the thesis that the Germans invented the gas chamber story as a "time bomb" that they knew would one day explode against the Jews. (Letter by Ida Zajdel and Marc Ascione in the periodical *Article 31*, Jan.-Feb. 1987, p. 22.)

— March 15, 1996

Internet Web Site Offers Instant Access to Revisionism

Through his personal Internet Web site, *Journal* associate editor Greg Raven makes available an impressive selection of material from the Institute for Historical Review, including IHR *Journal* articles and reviews and IHR leaflets. A listing of every item that has ever appeared in this *Journal* enables callers to quickly search for titles and authors. New Web site items are added as time permits.

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Each month about two thousand people in dozens of countries visit this Web site, with the average caller viewing 12 files (or articles) per visit. Because it is linked to several other revisionist (and anti-revisionist) Web sites, visitors can easily access vast amounts of additional information.

The Web site address for IHR material is

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E-mail messages should be sent to the IHR in care of ihrgreg@kaiwan.com

For more about the IHR and the cyberspace revolution, see "Revisionist Global Computer Outreach" in the July-August 1995 *Journal*.

Corrections

A few errors appeared in the Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*:

Page 35, column 2, line 30: "such" should be "should," so the sentence reads: "Anyone who thinks so should listen carefully to an hour of Elie Wiesel."

Page 42, column 1, lines 25-26: The figures 41, 28, and 17 do not add up to 91. The error is in the original article. It appears that altogether 91 or 92 persons were killed in the July 22, 1946, bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem.

Page 44, column 1, line 15: "Bemoaning Netanyahu" should, of course, be "Benjamin Netanyahu."

Page 45, column 1: The error in the subtitle of the book by Walid Khalidi, *Before Their Diaspora*, is in the original article. The correct title is *Before Their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians, 1876-1848*.

Argentina Revisionist Magazine Part of Worldwide Network

Since 1992 a group of revisionists in Argentina has been publishing an attractive, illustrated revisionist magazine that proclaims its purpose on the front cover of each issue: "Revising history to reestablish the truth."

Capably edited by Andrés Seljan, *Revisión* is published irregularly by the "Paul Rassinier Studies Center" of Buenos Aires, named for the courageous French educator who is regarded as the "father of Holocaust revisionism." (Rassinier was arrested by the Gestapo in 1943 for anti-German Resistance activities and interned until the end of the war in the Dora and Buchenwald concentration camps.)

The Center also distributes Spanish-language editions of *The Leuchter Report*, Thies Christophersen's memoir about his wartime experiences at Auschwitz, Richard Harwood's "Six Million" booklet, and other popular revisionist writings, as well as a Spanish-language edition of an IHR leaflet, "66 Questions and Answers on the Holocaust."

Revisión is yet another expression of the revisionist movement's international scope and vitality. Revisionist periodicals are now published in a number of countries — sometimes in defiance of government-imposed restrictions — including Spain, France, Germany, Brazil, Poland, Sweden and Belgium. In addition, revisionist books and booklets are published in Russia, Britain, Japan, Hungary, Canada, Australia, Ukraine, Egypt, Switzerland, Turkey, Mexico and other countries.

The 66-page, May 1995 issue of *Revisión* features a ten-page report (translated from the Nov-Dec. 1994 *Journal*) on the Twelfth IHR Conference, with a photo of the Conference speakers. This issue also contains a nine-page article about Franklin Roosevelt and the infamous "secret map" he cited in a 1941 radio address. Claiming that this document proved a secret German plan to occupy South America, the President used it to whip up public sentiment for war against Germany. As the article goes on to explain, this "secret map" was, in fact, a fraud, fabricated by the British secret service.

Also in the May 1995 issue is a lengthy article, reprinted from a revisionist magazine in Spain, on wartime Allied terror bombing of Germany, and an article by John Ries (translated from the Fall 1992 *Journal*) on the suppressed story of the greatest naval catastrophes in history.

Shorter items round out this issue of *Revisión*, including several translated from issues of this *Journal*.

The 44-page, May 1994 issue of *Revisión* includes a nine-page article on the 1943 Warsaw ghetto uprising, and a 17-page article (translated from the Spring 1986 *Journal*) by IHR adviser Georg Franz-Willing on the origins of the Second World War.

The May 1992 issue of *Revisión* includes two articles reprinted from a revisionist magazine in Spain. One is a 14-page essay on "The Victims of Potsdam" by Jorge Lobo, and another is a 17-page article by Carlos Cabellero on the "Victims of Yalta." Also in this 66-page 1992 issue is a five-page essay by Robert Faurisson, and a translation of a twelve-page essay by Mark Weber (from the Spring 1981 *Journal*) on the US government's wartime concentration camps of Japanese Americans. Rounding out this issue is a six-page article "Qué es el IHR?" ("What is the IHR?").

For further information, write to:

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Study of Roosevelt's Path to Pearl Harbor Debunks Popular Historical Myths

A Time For War: Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Path to Pearl Harbor, by Robert Smith Thompson. New York: Prentice Hall, 1991. xiii+449 pages. Hardcover. Photos. Source notes. Bibliography. Index.

Reviewed by Joseph Bishop

In the popular view, the origin of America's war with Japan is clear: without provocation, the dastardly Japanese launched a sneak attack against us at Pearl Harbor. Japan's militaristic warlords, together with their totalitarian Axis partners, Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, were bent on savage world conquest and global domination. America, militarily weak but morally strong, recovered from the "day of infamy" attack to subdue Japan and its Axis partners, and save the world.

With help from the mass media and a community of "court historians," Americans widely accept this portrayal of the conflict as a struggle between angels and devils. Over the years, though, revisionist historians such as Charles Beard, Harry Elmer Barnes, John Toland and John Costello have thoroughly discredited this feel-good establishment account.

Among the facts of "inconvenient history" cited by revisionists are President Franklin Roosevelt's threats and ultimatums to Japan, the tightening US trade embargo of Japan, unlawful US aid to Japan's enemies, and American foreknowledge of an imminent Japanese attack against US bases some time in early December 1941 based on a reading of Japan's secret military and diplomatic codes.

In this book, Robert Smith Thompson, a lecturer on foreign policy at the University of South Carolina, re-affirms the established revisionist view of the war's origins, but with a focus on the role of China in the interwar period. He understands, of course, that Japan was hardly blameless, and it is not his purpose to deny Japanese aggression or atrocities. At the same time, though, he sheds light

on a neglected chapter of history, and effectively debunks popular but inaccurate perceptions. Summing up his thesis, he writes (p. xiii):

The traditional view of why America entered World War II is a myth. Neither isolationist nor truly neutral, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his administration forced Germany and Japan to go to war with us. Why Roosevelt did so is another — and an enthralling — question. The answer to this question goes back at least to the start of the twentieth century.

Chinese Weakness

Often overlooked in the emphasis on the Pacific War of 1941-1945 is Japan's drawn out military involvement in China, 1931-1945. As Thompson shows here, the Sino-Japanese war foreshadowed the Japanese-American clash, not least because it was a laboratory for Rooseveltian lawbreaking and duplicity. Furthermore, he shows that the military conflict between Japan and the United States had its origins in earlier rivalry and competition in east Asia between the two countries.

Already in the 19th century, European powers and the United States were prying open commercial markets in China, which was ruled by the weak and hopelessly ineffectual Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty. Particularly in the aftermath of the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, Western powers reduced China to a playground for European and American business interests, missionary societies, and private adventurers. A string of humiliating losses of territory and sovereignty to alien foreigners eroded the authority of China's Manchu regime, which "lost face" with its people. The collapse of the dynasty in 1911 brought further disorder and chaos. Secret societies proliferated, bandits roamed the countryside, gangsters terrorized the cities, and warlords seized control of large territories.

European powers, and, increasingly, the United States, also moved to fill the power vacuum. To enforce its hegemony, Westerners established "international settlements" in China's larger cities and their gunboats patrolled her rivers and sea lanes.

Joseph Bishop studied history at a South African university. He now resides in the Pacific Northwest with his wife and three children.



Shanghai, China's major port city, was occupied by the Japanese in November 1937. Here Japanese infantrymen celebrate after storming the city's North railway station.

Japanese Ambitions in China

The proclamation earlier of an "Open Door" policy in China reflected America's new-found power and influence on the world stage, and further underscored China's semi-colonial status. Weaker but friendly European powers such as Britain, Netherlands and France had to rely ever more on the United States for help in maintaining their positions in China. In spite of the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922, which guaranteed the integrity of China and its "Open Door" (and of which Japan was a signatory), the "door" was more open to some than to others.

Meanwhile, Japan's rapidly expanding industrial economy required vast imports of raw materials as well as large markets for its finished export goods. The most obvious source of imports and outlet for exports was neighboring China, the world's most populous country. But in the scramble for markets and power in Asia, Japan was disfavored and humiliated. The Western powers, and increasingly, the United States, thwarted her ambitions. As Thompson explains (p. 16), the US wielded ever greater power in Asia to its own advantage and to Japan's detriment:

America had persuaded Britain to renounce its own 1901 treaty with Japan. America had

required Japan to evacuate the Shantung Peninsula, occupied during World War I, and to return customs control and sovereignty to China. America had demanded, and gotten, cable rights on Yap [Island] in the Pacific. America had forced Japan to leave Siberia, which the Japanese had invaded in 1919, and to give the Soviets the northern half of Sakhalin Island.

Not surprisingly, Thompson notes (p. 98), Japan viewed all this as an intolerable state of affairs:

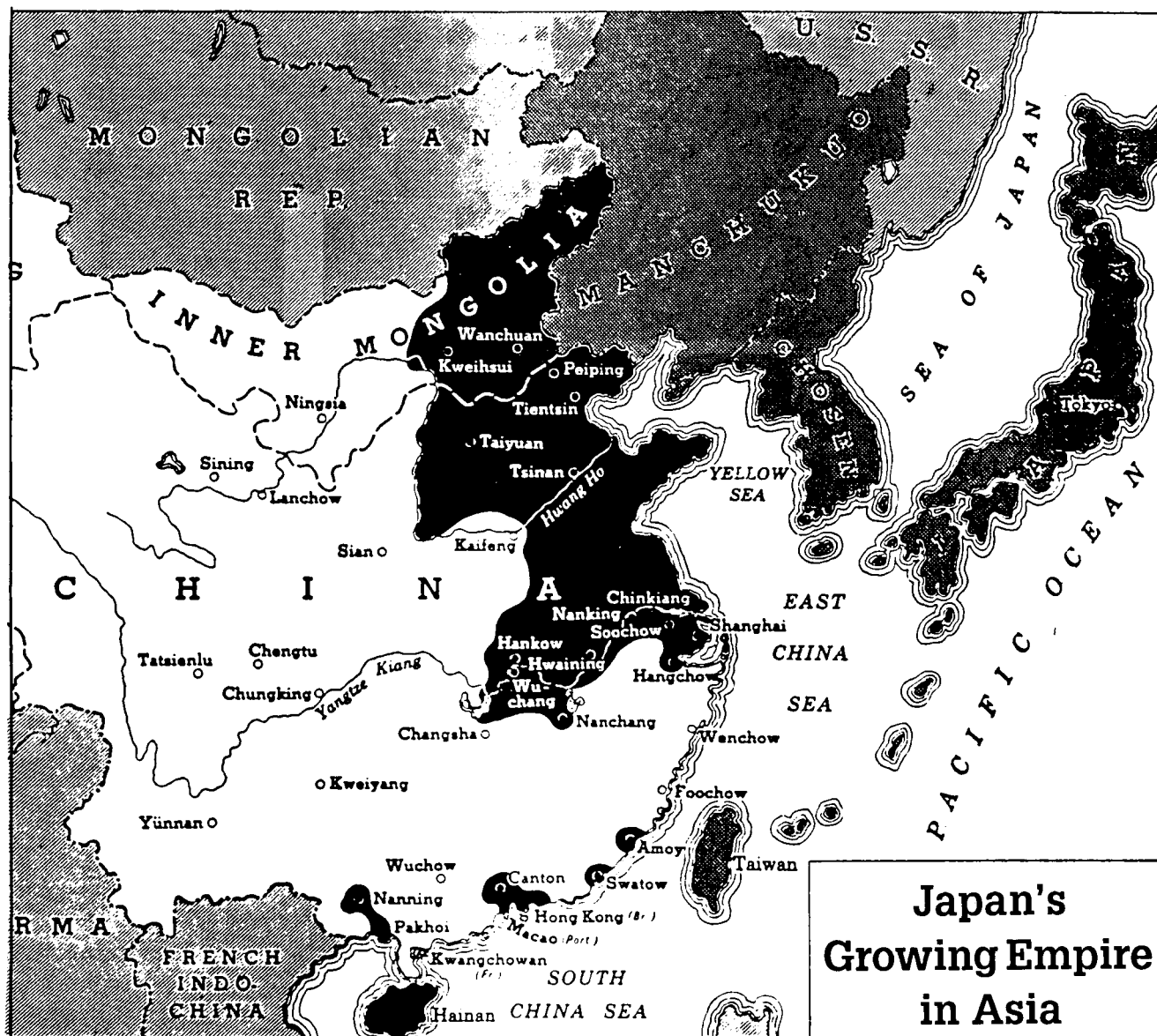
For close to a century, Western commercial interests in China had centered their activities on the treaty ports... [In] each of these cities, which China had signed away in part or altogether to foreigners (usually to the British)...Westerners controlled the currencies, the exchange rates, the tariffs and quotas, the regulations over shipping and navigation, the rates and symbols of the power of the West. And the Japanese were determined to end all that.

One-Sided Neutrality

During the early 1930s Japan took military control of much of northern China. In Manchuria (northeast China) it established the puppet state of Manchukuo in 1932. Japan's full-scale war in China traditionally dates from the "Marco Polo Bridge" incident in 1937. While the origins of this "incident" remain unclear to this day, Chinese Communist involvement is a possibility. Indeed, an ominous and complicating factor throughout East Asia was the rise of Communism. Proxies of Soviet Russia did their best to foment unrest and conflict amongst the Asian peoples, and Japan's responsive efforts to combat Communist "bandits" in China merged with its general war of conquest there.

Naturally, the Westerners who had been holding sway in China resented Japan's sudden military intrusion and new power in the vast land. Between 1931 and 1941, hostile incidents in China between American citizens and Japanese troops, the luridly Japanophobic portrayal of the Sino-Japanese conflict in American newspapers, periodicals and newsreels, and official US condemnations of Japanese actions in China all helped psychologically to prepare the American public for an "inevitable" showdown with Japan.

Contributing to this was the work of Henry Luce, the avidly pro-Chinese publisher of *Time* and *Life* magazines. (Luce was the son of American missionaries in China.) In his influential weeklies, he bashed Japan and boosted Chinese *Generalissimo* Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) and his anti-Japanese government as the authentic representative of the Chinese people. In reality, Chiang Kai-shek presided over a corrupt and dictatorial regime, which



Japan had already acquired Taiwan in 1895, and in 1910 it annexed Korea (Chosen). In 1932, it established the puppet state of Manchukuo in northeast China. By December 1939, Japan seized control of the vast areas of China shown here in black.

was largely controlled by the fabulously wealthy and corrupt Soong clan. (Mei-ling Soong was Chiang Kai-shek's wife, and T.V. Soong, at one time the wealthiest man in the world, was his Prime Minister.)

During 1937-1941, all these factors contributed to the erosion of the remnants of United States neutrality. Writes Thompson (p. 39):

In the mid-1930s, Congress had passed a series of neutrality acts, requiring belligerent countries to pay cash for whatever they bought in the States and to ship such goods in their own vessels (the cash-and-carry principle) — and requiring the president, when two foreign coun-

tries were in a state of war, to declare an arms embargo. Since Japan could produce its own weapons, however, and China could not, having to make purchases overseas, an embargo would hurt China more than it would hurt Japan. So Roosevelt made a move that was not a move. He decided that he would "find" no war. He would wink at the sale of arms to China.

Roosevelt's phony neutrality and his illicit aid to China against Japan foreshadowed his circumventions of the neutrality laws in aiding Britain against Germany. Indeed, the campaign to inflame emotions against Japan over the China war served as a general precursor to America's propaganda war against Germany.

As early as 1937, America's willful violations of neutrality extended to the financing of China's war against Japan, and the training and equipping of China's air force. (See also "Roosevelt's Secret Pre-War Plan to Bomb Japan," Winter 1991-92 *Journal*.) As Thompson explains (p. 33):

Three events, each out of the spring of 1937, cast doubt on America's true neutrality. The Chinese government had begun to send presents to American officials, especially to President Roosevelt. The US Treasury had begun to buy Chinese silver, granting China a kind of foreign aid. And the Chinese government had begun to pay money to an American pilot, Claire Chennault. His job was to reorganize the Chinese air force; and although he was retired from the US Army Air Corps, he had plenty of contacts in Washington. In time, he would make full use of those contacts.

Much of China's ability militarily to resist the Japanese depended upon the outside sources of material aid coming through the Yangtze River, which also served as the main artery of trade for American and other western companies. Japan severed the conduit to their enemies by announcing in 1937 their seizure of the Shanghai customs service. This was accompanied by further international incidents, including a brief Japanese invasion of the Shanghai international settlement, and aerial strafings of western ships plying the river lines, including the sinking of the US gunboat "Panay" in December 1937. Other sources of western aid to China came through Haiphong in French Indochina and via Britain's Hong Kong colony. Japanese pressures applied to these routes further inflamed tensions.

Another route used by the western powers to supply Japan's enemies in China was an overland road from Rangoon in Burma. The tremendous cost of maintaining this supply line were secured at a meeting between US Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, Jr., and Chinese finance minister H.H. Kung. They agreed that the United States would purchase Chinese silver and allow for a series of foreign exchange loans to China, which would maintain the flow of military supplies to China. Initial objections to this violation of American neutrality by the US State Department were overridden by President Roosevelt.

Numerous other Americans, serving as unofficial agents of China, encouraged further US aid and stridently opposed Japanese interests. Among them, Thompson points out (p. 93), was none other than John Foster Dulles, who would later serve as President Eisenhower's ardently anti-Communist Secretary of State:

Upon his return to New York [from China], late in April 1938, Dulles spoke to the Lunch Club. Standing on the dais, he praised the Chinese Communists — this was Dulles! — as the "most effective fighting portion and the most patriotic" of the Chinese troops; and he expressed his conviction that the Japanese would never topple Chiang Kai-shek. Henry L. Stimson [later US Secretary of War] was in the audience. Dulles' words impressed him: Perhaps, Stimson concluded, Japan could be beaten after all.

In effect, some US officials already considered themselves at war with Japan. Continued American aid to Japan's enemies, and the hostile anti-Japanese rhetoric in the US media fueled Japanese anger and precipitated still more incidents.

In August 1938, for example, a commercial DC-2 aircraft of the American-run "China National Aviation Corporation," piloted by American Captain Hugh Woods, was shot down en route to Chungking (capital of Chiang Kai-shek's government), and most of the western civilian passengers who survived the water landing were killed by Japanese strafings. Few of the millions of Americans who were outraged by this incident knew the full story. As Thompson notes (p. 107): "Was CNAC nonbelligerent? Captain Woods' DC-2 was unarmed. But other CNAC planes, DC-2s, had been flying into Chungking with tanks of fuel for military use."

This was not the only source of American ill will toward Japan. As Japan tightened its control of China's coastal cities, it imposed its own political and economic hegemony, now at the expense of the Westerners who just a short time earlier had been calling the shots. Americans were not pleased, as Thompson explains (p. 108):

Voters were angry — and so were investors. The Japanese had lowered booms across the waters at Shanghai, refusing to raise them for American vessels; the Japanese had seized, without payment, such goods as the tobacco stock of the Carolina Leaf and Tobacco Company and a lighter [small freighter] belonging to the US-owned Shanghai Lumber and Coal Company; the Japanese had prevented salesmen from the Singer Sewing Machine Company from docking at Shanghai; the Japanese had shut off two American oil companies from their long-standing markets in China; the Japanese had severed American exporters, based in China, from their sources of fur and wool.

America's ambassador in Tokyo, Joseph C. Grew, was a decent man, respected by the Japanese, who struggled to avert war. But as Thompson writes (pp. 110-111), his task was daunting:

Grew had worked day and night to keep mutual

relations peaceful — but the task was becoming impossible. To the Japanese he had to keep explaining away the bombast [of Japanophobes in America]; to the Americans he had over and over to present the Japanese view; namely, that Americans in China were acting in ways that were anything but neutral. Here is a sample of Japanese accusations that Grew forwarded to Washington: In Hopeh Province, American Presbyterian missionaries had allowed Chinese troops to use their church as a sanctuary; in Shansi Province, Chinese troops had used an American-owned church as a fortress. Near Hsuehchow, American missionaries had let Chinese soldiers use their establishment as a communications center. At Tsingtao, Sen Chihti, head of a Chinese secret police unit, had taken sanctuary in a middle school run by the American Presbyterian church.

Thompson not only affirms that such incidents did occur, he cites additional hostile American actions, including support by American missionaries for Chinese Communists. (For example, American Methodist Bishop Roots worked with Chou En-lai to explore ways to embroil the US in the China war against Japan.)

Ambassador Grew conveyed to Washington Japan's protests about such incidents, but to no avail. His superiors, including President Roosevelt, did not share his concerns or goals. As war loomed ever larger in the ironically-named Pacific region, Grew and others who worked for peace could only look on helplessly.

Economic Warfare Against Japan

During this period, Japan was economically very vulnerable. More than any other industrial power, it was unusually dependent on imports of oil and other essential raw materials, as well as on foreign markets for export. In the circumstances of the time, it was economically beholden to the United States. It was thus a jolt when, in 1939, the United States cancelled its 1911 trade agreement with Japan. Much more serious were the trade embargoes imposed in 1940, when the US halted exports to Japan of petroleum, petroleum products (including gasoline and lubricants) and all grades of iron



Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek and his wife meet with US air force commander Claire Chennault in Chungking, the wartime capital of Chiang's government.

and steel scrap.

America's economic warfare against Japan came to climax on July 26, 1941, when President Roosevelt ordered the freezing of all Japanese assets and credits in the United States. This ended all trade between the two countries. (In coordination with this, Britain and the Netherlands followed quickly with similar measures of their own.) Because Japan was largely dependent on the US for petroleum and petroleum products, Roosevelt's order threatened her survival as an industrial nation. As British historian J.F.C. Fuller pointed out (in *The Second World War*, p. 128), "this was a declaration of economic war, and, in consequence, it was the actual opening of the struggle."

Commenting on Roosevelt's policy of "detering" Japan through economic pressure, Thompson writes (p. 401):

Here was no mere deterrence; here was deterrence that amounted to provocation. Was the provocation deliberate? Three times, twice to Lord Halifax and once to British premier Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt intimated that he was trying to force "an incident" that would bring America more deeply into the fray. He may have hated war, but he presided over policies that came to be indistinguishable from incitements to war.

Ruin or War

In this desperate situation, Japan faced inevitable economic ruin as a developed country. It decided, therefore, to act boldly to seize by sudden military action the resources and markets that the United



President Franklin Roosevelt speaks to the nation in a radio address, September 11, 1941.

States, Britain and France denied to it through embargo and the colonial system. In the words of J.F.C. Fuller, Japan's "choice was between two evils — both gigantic. She decided to follow the one she considered the lesser — war rather than economic ruin."

When Japan did strike in December 1941, the Commanders-in-Chief of her Army and Navy issued a joint Order of the Day, which declared:

They [America and Britain] have obstructed by every means our peaceful commerce, and finally have resorted to the direct severance of economic relations, menacing gravely the existence of our Empire.

This trend of world affairs would, if left unchecked, not only nullify our Empire's efforts of many years for the sake of the stabilization of eastern Asia, but also endanger the very existence of our nation. The situation being such as it is, our Empire for its existence and self-defense has no other recourse but to appeal to arms ...

At his trial after the war, Japan's wartime prime minister, Hideki Tojo, stated: "To adopt a policy of patience and perseverance under such impediment [the American pressure] was tantamount to self-annihilation of our nation. Rather than await extinction, it was better to face death by breaking through the encircling ring and find a way for existence."

Roosevelt's Motives

This book raises pertinent historical questions: Could the war in China have ended peacefully, or earlier, if the United States had not intervened to

provide extensive aid to the Chinese combatants? Would Japan have acted more responsibly in Asia if America had behaved as a sincere neutral? If America had impartially tried to end the war in China, rather than intensify it, could the later and more generalized war with Japan have been avoided?

Finally, Thompson attempts to explain the motives behind Franklin Roosevelt's policies. In his path to war, Thompson believes, the President was driven not by a wish to safeguard America from supposed threat by the "bandit nations" of Germany, Japan and Italy, nor was he motivated by a desire to save China, Britain or even "democracy."

Instead, Thompson argues, Roosevelt sought to reestablish the stability of an earlier age by imposing his personal "vision" of a peaceful international order. He portrays FDR as a hopeless romantic harking after a lost "golden age" (p. 405):

President Franklin D. Roosevelt and those around him had the same vision in the months and years before Pearl Harbor. The Roosevelt administration, you sense, wanted to return to the *status quo ante*, to the world before the Great Depression, before the Great War, before the Russian Revolution, above all, to the world as it existed before the rise of Germany and Japan. Only with Germany and Japan removed from international affairs — indeed, only with America in Britain's place — would the golden age return.

While Thompson never makes clear whether he admires or deplores Roosevelt's policies, he does clearly establish that in the years before the Pearl Harbor attack, the President acted deceitfully and even unlawfully in furthering American economic and political interests in East Asia. Along with other works of revisionist scholarship, Thompson's valuable study points up the wide gap between popular perception and historical reality.

Shifting Law

"Abstract justice is, of course, impossible. Law is merely the expression of the will of the strongest for the time being, and therefore laws have not fixity, but shift from generation to generation."

— Brooks Adams,
The Law of Civilization and Decay

Goldhagen's 'Evil' Indictment of Germans

Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust, by Daniel Jonah Goldhagen. New York: Knopf, 1996. x+622 pages. \$30.00.

Reviewed by Charles E. Weber

This is an evil book, as evil as the well-known incitement to hatred against Germans by Elie Wiesel, who praises this thick volume as "a tremendous contribution to the understanding and teaching of the Holocaust."

Author Goldhagen's basic thesis is that a harsh "eliminationist" hostility toward Jews was so deeply ingrained in Germany that "ordinary Germans" were "willing executioners" of the Third Reich's murderous Holocaust of European Jewry. Even Germany's clergy comes under vehement attack in the chapter "Eliminationist Antisemitism as a Genocidal Motivation" (especially pp. 432-438; see also pp. 107-114). Goldhagen asserts (p. 437):

In sum, in the face of the persecution and annihilation of the Jews, the churches, Protestant and Catholic, as corporate bodies exhibited an apparent, striking impassiveness. Moreover, in the ranks of the clergy at all levels, numerous voices could be heard vilifying the Jews in Nazi-like terms, hurling imprecations at them, and acclaiming their persecution at the hands of their country's government.

Not even the members of the conspiracy who plotted to kill Hitler on July 20, 1944 are spared by Goldhagen (pp. 115-116).

In the opening pages of his book, in which he gives a sort of preliminary summary of its contents, Goldhagen writes (p. 4) of "the tens of thousands of ordinary Germans who... became genocidal killers." Even if we were to assume, quite hypothetically,

Charles E. Weber received a doctorate in German literature from the University of Cincinnati in 1954, and has taught at the University of Cincinnati, the University of Missouri, Louisiana State University, and the University of Tulsa (Oklahoma). He has served as Head of the Department of Modern Languages at the University of Tulsa. During service in the US Army, 1945-1946, he was trained in military intelligence at Camp Ritchie, Maryland, and was then involved in "denazification" work in occupied Germany as a noncommissioned intelligence officer. Dr. Weber (no relation to the *Journal's* editor) publishes the *Bulletin* of the Committee for the Reexamination of the History of the Second World War. He is the author of *The 'Holocaust': 120 Questions and Answers* (1983), and a member of this *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee.

that 70,000 Germans could fall into such a category, that would still be only one in a thousand Germans — hardly the basis for a sweeping moral condemnation of a whole nation.

I can hardly imagine that Goldhagen has experienced military life himself or that he even has a good secondhand grasp of what it is like. In any military organization, a few members are prone to become sadists, especially after bloody engagements with enemy forces, and infused with the skillful psychological indoctrination that is a routine part of modern warfare. I recall, a few months after the end of the war in Europe, a fellow soldier boasting to me about how many Germans he had killed with the trucks he had driven. Were members of the American air force who delighted in reducing hundreds of thousands of women and children to cinders morally superior to members of the special German Einsatzkommando police units, to which Goldhagen devotes so much space? Most members of both groups no doubt thought they were performing acts that were a patriotic military necessity.

Right at the outset, Goldhagen demonstrates to the discerning reader just how unreliable his book is. On page 4 (and later on p. 162) he insists that German anti-Jewish measures killed six million Jews. Because German authorities never had more than about 3.8 million Jews under their control, as can be confirmed by checking easily accessible statistics on

Jewish prewar and postwar populations, the familiar Six Million figure is absurd. (See, for example, Walter Sanning's *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, published by the IHR.)

Goldhagen calls the Holocaust "the most shocking event of the twentieth century, and the most difficult to understand in all of German history" (p. 4) — an arrogant, ethnocentric comment suggesting that Jewish suffering has special significance. The number of Ukrainians who died from starvation in Stalin's imposed mass famine of 1932-33 is, alone, perhaps ten times the number of Jews who perished in Europe under German and Axis rule, 1942-45.

Documents and Photographs

As evidence of a German extermination policy, Goldhagen cites (p. 322) the purported protocol of a conference of German government and military officials held at Wannsee (near Berlin) on January 20, 1942. As anyone who has carefully read the text



Charles Weber

knows, this 15-page document contains no mention of any policy or program to exterminate the Jews, let alone anything about gas chambers or the like. Remarkably, this document envisages a restructured Jewish makeup for those who survive forced employment, upon their future release (*"bei Freilassung"*). (Actually, there is some evidence that this document, which contains no signature, date, and so forth, may be a forgery of some sort. For the complete text and detailed discussion of the Wannsee conference protocol, see *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence*, by Wilhelm Stäglich, pp. 31-41, 283-291, published by the IHR.)

Similarly, at least some of the grim photographs in Goldhagen's book appear to be of dubious authenticity. Some such "Holocaust industry" photos were produced by montage techniques, while in other instances unaltered photographs were used with false captions. (On this topic, see Udo Walendy's article the Spring 1980 *Journal*.)

As is now well known, torture was used to obtain many of the "confessions" upon which much of the Holocaust story is based. (See, for example, Robert Faurisson's article, "How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss," in Winter 1986-87 *Journal*.) Holocaust "eyewitness" testimony, often quoted here by Goldhagen, are also frequently unreliable, as pointed out by the Jewish historian Arno Mayer in his 1988 book, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The 'Final Solution' in History* (p. 362).

Much of Goldhagen's book is devoted to the thesis that Wehrmacht troops were generally so hostile to Jews that many took a personal delight in tormenting them. Wise military commanders prohibit such evil, not only for the sake of the morale and psychological well-being of their men, but also to prevent encouragement of a more determined resistance on the part of their enemies. And German soldiers were exceptionally well disciplined and officered, as any number of non-German military historians have acknowledged. As Jewish author John Sack points out in his book *An Eye for an Eye* (pp. 87, 105), SS guards at Auschwitz could be (and in some instances were) punished severely by the German authorities for mistreating inmates, especially for emotional satisfaction.

Heinrich Himmler recognized the value of Jewish inmates in German concentration and labor camps as a source of labor for the war effort. In an order dated December 28, 1942, to the administrators of these camps the SS *Reichsführer* insisted that deaths of inmates (as a consequence of disease) were to be reduced "at all costs."

Historical Context

It is important to realize that the grim subject of this book is only understandable within the context

of the time. For example, Goldhagen makes an astonishingly naive or disingenuous statement (p. 409) to the effect that the behavior of Ukrainians, Latvians and Lithuanians in collaborating with the German occupation forces was difficult to understand. For anyone familiar with the historical circumstances, though, this collaboration is not at all surprising.

It is well established that Jews played a decisive and probably dominant role not only in the early Soviet Russian regime, but also in the genocidal Soviet administrations imposed in the Baltic nations in 1940-1941. [See "The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and the Early Soviet Regime," Jan-Feb. 1994 *Journal*.] When German forces occupied the Baltic countries in the summer of 1941, people there took bloody vengeance on their tormentors (p. 151).

Goldhagen devotes considerable attention to the grim work of the *Einsatzkommandos*, special German security police detachments that operated behind the front lines in the occupied Soviet Union.

In these vast territories, large numbers of Jews came under German occupation in 1941. As a group, the Jews there were ardently hostile to German rule and posed a threat to security. Many joined the irregular (partisan) forces, which became a severe menace to thinly spread German military personnel. (Jews today point to this chapter of history with considerable pride, as shown, for example, in the US Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC.)

This reality, and the special character of the pitiless conflict between Germany and Soviet Russia, necessitated the very harsh security measures behind the front lines that resulted in many Jewish deaths. These victims, which included many innocent people, accounted for a large portion of all Jewish wartime deaths, a fact that Goldhagen acknowledges (p. 523, n. 4).

Ignored Evidence and a Shift in Emphasis

The grave distortions and lack of balance of this book are perhaps due less to what Goldhagen writes than to what he does not include. He ignores the abundant evidence brought out in recent decades — such as the *Leuchter Report* and the aerial reconnaissance photographs taken of Auschwitz in 1944 — that discredits the generally accepted Holocaust extermination story.

While a look at his bibliography suggests that he is not aware of this research, he seems to know of evidence that discredits the familiar claims of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz, and to believe that the Holocaust story needs at least some revision. "The imbalance of attention devoted to the gas chambers needs to be corrected," he writes (p. 523, n. 4).

Goldhagen also devotes a great deal of attention to the evacuations of inmates from German concentration camps during the final months of the war, in the face of the approaching Soviet forces. Many thousands of Jewish prisoners were evacuated from Auschwitz, for example, in the weeks before its capture by Soviet forces on January 27, 1945. It seems not to have occurred to Goldhagen that if there had been anything like a policy to kill all Jews, the German authorities would not have diverted desperately needed guard personnel and overtaxed transportation facilities to such cumbersome evacuations, which Goldhagen refers to as "death marches."

Threats of Genocide

Germany's harsh anti-Jewish measures were carried out during a war in which the German people were themselves threatened with genocide — an aspect of the subject that Goldhagen, like most Holocaust historians, essentially ignores.

Even at the outset of the conflict there were mass killings of thousands of civilian ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) by both civilian and military Poles, who were confident that Poland would quickly defeat Germany. Many apparently expected to take possession of German farms and businesses. An estimated 58,000 German civilians lost their lives in the massacres carried out in September 1939, of which the "Bromberg Bloody Sunday" is perhaps best known. (These atrocities are documented in gruesome detail in a book issued by the German Foreign Office. The American edition, *Polish Acts of Atrocities Against the German Minority in Poland*, was published in New York in 1940.)

Then came the book by American Jewish writer Theodore Kaufman, *Germany Must Perish*, which called for the sterilization of all Germans and the parceling out of Germany to neighboring states. First published in 1941, translations of this shocking work were widely distributed by Goebbels' agencies as a grim admonishment to the German people. Of course, one looks in vain for any mention by Goldhagen of this Jewish call to genocide.

So eager were Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill to ruthlessly crush Germany that in January 1943 they issued their demand for "unconditional surrender" — a savage directive that unquestionably cost the lives of huge numbers of soldiers on both sides. In September 1944 came the notorious Morgenthau Plan, an occupation program endorsed by Roosevelt and formulated by his Treasury Secretary that would have had a genocidal impact on the German people by depriving the nation of its heavy industry and thus the possibility of obtaining the imports necessary for its very survival. (Since about 1870 the German population had

grown beyond the capacity of its arable land to feed itself. During 1945-1948 I myself witnessed the starvation and economic paralysis that was imposed on the vanquished Germans.) Then in October 1944 came the discovery of the Soviet massacre of German civilians in Nemmersdorf, a vil-

lage in East Prussia that was briefly recaptured by German forces. In February 1945 Allied air forces carried out the genocidal bombing of Dresden.

Under these circumstances, which receive little or no mention from Goldhagen, it is naive to expect that the Germans would have maintained a sympathetic, benevolent attitude toward the Jews.

Germany's wartime internment of Jews has certain parallels with America's wartime internment of its citizens of Japanese descent. In each case, racial-ethnic distrust and concerns for security were significant factors. But there were also some important differences. Whereas the US government acted swiftly in the wake of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor to round up its citizens of Japanese ancestry, the German authorities moved rather slowly and hesitantly against the Jews, until the outbreak of the German-Soviet conflict.

If the German authorities intended to consign all Jews to death, as Goldhagen claims (p. 173), they moved with a remarkable lack of urgency. The Jewish uprising in the Warsaw ghetto in the spring of 1943, for example, came some three and a half years after the outbreak of the war.

The appalling conditions in the German concentration camps during the war's final, chaotic months are reminiscent of the dreadful conditions in the prisoner of war camps of the starving and beleaguered Confederacy during the Civil War. In the case of Germany, however, Allied bombing had shattered the country's transportation network and supply system in the final months.

German Tolerance

Contrary to Goldhagen's thesis, hostility toward Jews was by no means more widespread or deep-rooted in Germany than in, say, France or even the United States. In modern times Jews have rightly regarded Germany as a haven of relative tolerance, virtually a "promised land." One of the most influential literary pleas for tolerance of Jews was the



Daniel Jonah Goldhagen

famous 18th-century German play, *Nathan der Weise* ("Nathan the Wise"). The dramatist and critic G. E. Lessing (1729-1781) presents the play's central figure, a Jew, in a highly sympathetic light, in contrast to the Christian figures in the drama.

During the 19th and 20th centuries Jews thrived in Germany, which afforded them great opportunities to distinguish themselves in arts, letters, sciences and commerce. One need only recall such outstanding German-Jewish figures as the poet Heinrich Heine, the composer Felix Mendelssohn, shipping magnate Albert Ballin, the banking families of Rothschild and Warburg, political leaders Ferdinand Lassalle Walther Rathenau and Hugo Preuss, theater director Max Reinhardt, and physicist Albert Einstein. By the time of the Weimar Republic (1919-1933) German Jews were very disproportionately represented in commerce, banking and the legal profession.

On the other hand, the predominant Jewish role in the incredibly cruel Marxist regimes established in Russia, Hungary and elsewhere in the 1917-1919 period generated tremendous anti-Jewish feeling, not only in Germany but across Europe. In the United States automobile manufacturer Henry Ford, who had idealistically tried to reconcile the warring powers during the First World War, subsidized critical studies on the "Jewish question." These were published 1920-1922 and later republished in four volumes under the title *The International Jew*. Quickly translated into German, these volumes constituted a significant (but hardly the only) American influence on public opinion in Germany.

Third Reich Measures

Contrary to the impression given by Goldhagen, Third Reich measures against Jews were remarkably mild during the first few years after Hitler came to power in January 1933. The well-known boycott of Jewish businesses, April 1, 1933, was a token one-day response to the already established and on-going international Jewish boycott of German exports. It was not until the promulgation in September 1935 of the "Nuremberg Laws" that marriage between Jews and non-Jews was banned, a prohibition that, incidentally, paralleled the long-standing laws in numerous American states against marriages between Caucasians and Negroes.

Even as late as November 1938, at the time of the anti-Jewish "Crystal Night" riots (provoked by the Jewish murder of a German diplomat in Paris), much of Germany's retail trade was still in Jewish hands. As even Goldhagen concedes (p. 100) Jews still owned some 7,500 stores and business in Germany at that time. (On the origin and nature of "Crystal Night," see Ingrid Weckert's study, *Flash-*

point, published by the IHR.) As late as 1941, more than a hundred Jewish institutions, agencies and organizations were listed in that year's edition of the Berlin telephone directory. Of the nearly 1400 feature films produced during the Third Reich era, no more than four or five were anti-Jewish.

All this would hardly have been possible if hostility toward Jews in Third Reich Germany had been as deeply entrenched, as widespread or as intense as Goldhagen contends.

Goldhagen mentions (p. 142) Hitler's often-cited words from his January 30, 1939, Reichstag address, in which he predicted that if international finance Jewry succeeded once again in plunging Europe into world war, the result be the destruction of the Jews in Europe — although without specifying how or by whom. The German leader certainly wanted no European-wide conflict, or even war with Britain, but his awareness of the vehement international Jewish effort to incite war against Germany may perhaps explain his 1939 Reichstag prediction. (See "President Roosevelt's Secret Campaign to Incite War in Europe," Summer 1983 *Journal*.)

Conclusion

Anyone who seeks a balanced treatment of an emotion-laden chapter of modern history had better look elsewhere. But a lack of balance is hardly the greatest defect of this work. Probably its most pernicious feature is that it helps to destroy any prospect of good relations between Jews and Germans. Some Jewish leaders, fearing the destruction of their people through assimilation, may consciously wish to demolish tolerable relations between Jews and non-Jews.

Is this perhaps one of the author's motives in writing this book? If so, his book is another manifestation of an ancient Hebraic tradition, expressed in Jewish religious writings, of sowing discord amongst host populations. (See, for example, Isaiah 19:2-3: "And I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians, and they shall fight every one against his brother ... And the spirit of Egypt shall fail in the midst thereof ...")

Just as Jewish musicians who reject the music of Richard Wagner because he was anti-Jewish only cheat themselves, so also do Jews like Goldhagen who poison opportunities for good relations with Germans actually harm the interests of their own people.

As already mentioned, Jews have enjoyed advantageous relations with Germans in the past and may do so again in the future. Because this book's long-range impact is likely to be more harmful to Jews than to Germans, it should be challenged not only by non-Jews but by enlightened Jews as well.

French Study of Israel's 'Founding Myths' Provokes Furious Attack

Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne ("The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics"), by Roger Garaudy. Paris: La Vieille taupe (B.P. 98, 75224 Paris-Cedex 05, France), 1995. 277 pages. Softcover. [Available from La Librairie du Savoir, 5, rue Malebranche, 75005 Paris, France.]

Reviewed by Robert Martello

Even as independent thinking is being suppressed in "politically correct" America, and erased in today's national-masochist Germany, happily some remnants of traditional Gallic nonconformism are still alive in France. If a Frenchman asks you the rhetorical question "Do you think I am a fool?," it means he is irritated by your naive assumption that he may be naive.

Roger Garaudy obviously does not want to be taken for a fool. In admirably scholarly fashion, fortified with an impressive bibliography and endless source citations, he (possibly with help from anonymous assistants) has delivered a powerful blow to the greatest historical-political myth of our time: the transcendent victimology of Jews for the benefit of Israel. For financial gain, as an alibi for indefensible policies, and for other reasons, Jews have used what Garaudy calls "theological myths" to arrogate for themselves a "right of theological divine chosenness." He is right on target, although readers familiar with the work of other revisionist scholars will recognize many of the arguments presented in this well researched and very readable work.

Referring to the myth of "antifascist Zionism," Garaudy for example cites the secret collaboration of prominent Jews with the young Nazi regime, and the 1941 offer by some Zionists, including Israel's future prime minister Yitzhak Shamir, to join with Hitler's Germany in a military alliance against Britain. [See: M. Weber, "Zionism and the Third Reich," July-August 1993 *Journal*.] The farce of the Nuremberg victors' show trial is also well documented by Garaudy, who cites German, Israeli, Soviet and American sources, including the memoir of chief US prosecutor Robert Jackson.

Garaudy examines the deceitful *ex nihilo* establishment of the Jewish state through the dispossession and mass expulsion of Palestine's Arabs, and debunks the legend of the "Israeli miracle." He

writes frankly of the powerful Zionist lobby in North America, which effectively controls US policy regarding Israel and plays a critical role in shaping public opinion.

"Founding Myths" offers hundreds of interesting quotations, often by prominent Jewish scholars. For example, it quotes Jewish scholar Michael Bar-Zohar, who points out that during the Second World War "the rescuing of European Jewry was not first on the list of priorities of the ruling class. The foundation of the [Jewish] state was primary ..."

Holocaust Sacred Cows

Taking on that most sacred of sacred cows, Garaudy writes that the Holocaust story, as a whole, is a "myth." The wartime suffering of Europe's Jews, he contends, has been elevated to the status of a secular religion, and is now treated with sacrosanct historical uniqueness.

Tracing the origin of the notorious term "final solution" ("*Endlösung*"), Garaudy shows the circumstances in which the German leaders employed it. The phrase first appeared in a letter by Heydrich of June 24, 1940 (after the German victory over France). He wrote of "a territorial final solution" ("*eine territoriale Endlösung*"), referring to a proposal to deport Europe's Jews to Madagascar that was widely and seriously discussed at the time in German circles.

"There is no document signed by Hitler, Himmler or Heydrich speaking about the extermination of Jews," Garaudy points out. He also deftly tears down mythical exterminationist mathematics (such as the exaggerated Auschwitz body count), and debunks stories of gassing of Jews. Claude Lanzmann's much-praised "Shoah" film he dismisses as "an endless turkey," and refers to Anne Frank's diary as part of the "Shoah business."

Furious Attacks

If one accepts the old saying that everyone scratches himself where it itches most, then the furious attacks against this book and its author show that many in France are itching badly.

The country's supposedly independent press, from *Le Figaro* to *Le Monde* to *Libération*, along with the main television channels, immediately went after Garaudy in an intense smear campaign. Although France's media traditionally prides itself on its independent, freewheeling spirit, it has displayed a patent bias in heaping scorn on Garaudy and his most prominent public supporter, Abbé Pierre. Each is loudly accused of the worst of all possible sins in today's France: "inveterate anti-Semitism," "denial," and "revisionism."

Along with the media smears, lawsuits have been brought against Garaudy and his publisher.

Robert Martello is the pen name of an American scholar who lives in France.



Roger Garaudy (left) with Abbé Pierre

Each may also be subject to heavy fines or even imprisonment for violating France's 1990 Fabius-Gayssot anti-revisionist law. One cannot rule out that the octogenarian Garaudy will end his days in jail as a notorious thought criminal.

The entire Garaudy affair has received enormous attention in French academic, journalistic and public life, and shows no signs of dying. But in spite of all the media howling, "Founding Myths" is selling well.

'Red-Brown' Alliance?


If Garaudy were a right-winger or a neo-Nazi, he would have been dismissed long ago as lacking any intellectual credibility. But his establishment credentials are impeccable. During the war, he was one of the first to join the French anti-fascist *Résistance*, and he later played a prominent role in the French Communist Party. Later, after breaking with the Party, he converted to Islam. Garaudy's most prominent supporter and friend of many years, Abbé Pierre, is a world-renowned Catholic priest who likewise worked in the anti-German *Résistance*. Since the war he has devoted himself to helping the poor. Moreover, "Founding Myths" was published by the leftist writer Pierre Guillaume under the imprint of his "Old Mole" firm, a small and relatively unknown publisher that has brought out works of Holocaust revisionism, including some by Robert Faurisson.

Citing the leftist credentials of this book's author and publisher, many French opinion makers have been railing about the looming danger of a "red-brown" (Communist-Nazi) alliance. As silly as it is, such talk points up the complete bankruptcy of the traditional "left-right" categories of intellectual and political life. The Garaudy affair shows that the significant contending political and intellectual groupings today (and not just in France) are not "leftists" and "rightists," but rather the "politically correct" or "taboo-affirming," and the "politically incorrect" or

"taboo-defying."

"The most effective indictment against Hitlerism," Garaudy writes in the final words of his book, "is the establishment of historical truth. It is for this purpose that we have wished to make our contribution with this dossier."

In France the century was ushered in with an intense public debate over a Jewish army officer who had been accused of selling military secrets to Germany. For a time the Dreyfus affair sharply divided French society into radically hostile intellectual and political camps, a split that portended the country's division during the Second World War. As we approach a new century, it cannot be ruled out that the Garaudy case and historical revisionism will similarly split French public life, but in an ultimately even more profound way.



"Holocaust Pressure Groups Shut Down Japan's *Marco Polo* Magazine," a 30-page IHR Special Report, is available from the Institute for a minimum donation of \$20.

This important supplement of the feature article in the March-April 1995 *Journal* includes a translation of Dr. Nishioka's headline-making *Marco Polo* article, facsimile copies of numerous reports from American and Japanese English-language newspapers on the *Marco Polo* furor, and more.

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Impressive Scholarship

Having just finished reading my first issue of the *Journal*, I want to tell you that I am very impressed. In its overall scholarship, it is the equal of any serious academic journal.

Both "R.P." and "M.B." make good points in their letters in the Jan.-Feb. *Journal*. Issues such as the threat to America's middle class, the perils of unrestricted immigration, the Jewish role in history, the seemingly endless demonization of Third Reich Germany, and how and why our government involves itself in one insane foreign war after another, all deserve thoughtful treatment in the *Journal's* pages.

Historical revisionism is a burgeoning movement, gathering momentum. Keep up the good work.

M.R.
San Francisco

Distracted Commemoration

I hope you all commemorated the Holocaust Days of Remembrance more leisurely than did our Israeli brethren, distracted repeatedly from their solemn contemplation of man's inhumanity to Jews by the need to strafe an ambulance and shell a refugee camp.

What's with these goyim, anyway?

J.T.
Passaic, New Jersey

Pieces of an Extraordinary Puzzle

I was greatly impressed by the article in the Jan.-Feb. issue about the Spanish Inquisition and the "Jewish question" in Spain. Brian Chalmers has clearly done a tremendous amount of research, and he supports his conclusions admirably. You are fortunate to have found an author who is so knowledgeable and also willing to draw unfashionable, "anti-Semit-

ism" conclusions.

I, for one, would be delighted to see more articles of this kind: carefully researched accounts of Jewish behavior and its influence on historical events. Important as it is to study the Holocaust, articles like Chalmers' are perhaps even more important because they give a historical foundation for understanding the behavior of Jews today. And is not the behavior of Jews today what gives historical revisionism more than merely academic significance?

Although a thorough account of what the Nazis did — and did not do — is an important element in understanding Jewish behavior, it is just part of the puzzle. Perhaps Chalmers' can be persuaded to give us a few more brilliantly-researched pieces of this extraordinary puzzle.

C.J.
New York City

Raging Battle

As you may know, the battle for historical truth is raging on what has been dubbed the "information superhighway." "Alt.revisionism" is the name of an Internet newsgroup in which both pro-revisionist and anti-revisionist viewpoints are posted daily. It has been estimated that as many as 25,000 people regularly read the posts in the newsgroup.

W.R.
[by Internet]
Oldbridge, N.J.

Biased History Teacher

Our history teacher recently passed out to our tenth grade class a paper attacking Holocaust deniers published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Until I read this, I hadn't known that anyone challenged the idea of the Holocaust. Now I have begun researching the revisionist view. Whether you are

right or not, you make a strong argument.

The teacher, who is Jewish, also called you jerks, liars and neo-Nazi activists who want to ruin the Jewish faith. Seriously. And I can get the entire class to confirm this. He also talked to us about abortion, telling us that he is pro choice. But he sure isn't when it comes to the Holocaust.

It was unfair of our teacher to pass out such a blatantly biased paper that outrightly bashes the IHR, and wrong to bombard us with his emotional personal feelings, insulting our ability to think for ourselves. Along with several colleagues, I am considering how we might file a class action lawsuit against this teacher for his violation of the constitutional principle of separation of church and state. I would like to know what you think we should do.

B.E.
[by Internet]
Tampa, Fla.

A Young American in the Dachau Trials

Reading *Innocent at Dachau* took me back 50 years to my own days at Dachau. Actually, I've read and re-read Mr. Halow's book six times, and I enjoyed it even on the sixth reading.

My first Army assignment was to a War Crimes detachment at Ludwigsburg as a military court member [judge]. Among the cases we tried was the Borkum Island affair, which involved seven crew members of an American B-17 bomber who had been beaten and killed after their plane was shot down. After that we tried two or three minor cases, which took less than a week to complete. After about a month Ludwigsburg was shut down, and we were transferred to Dachau.

There were five US military courts in session there at the time,

including our own. I became disgruntled with the manner in which our court operated. For example, one fellow court member [judge], Lt. Col. Burchem, would write on a routing slip "Guilty. Hang the individual." Without question, his actions were unjust and extremely biased.

When I spoke with him about this, he replied that the investigators were very thorough, and would not have concluded that the defendants deserved to be hanged unless they were guilty. When I informed the president of the court about this, he seemed to dismiss the matter as a joke.

I then went to see the chief of administration of the War Crimes detachment at Dachau to get another duty assignment. He okayed my transfer to Headquarters Camp Dachau, where Col. Frances Fainter was in charge. My new duty was as Provost Marshal. As I recall, this was during the latter half of 1946. After my wife, our sixth-month-old daughter and my mother arrived, we were given quarters on the "SS Strasse."

Approximately 42,000 prisoners were being held in the Dachau camp, including about a hundred German generals and 3,000 alleged war criminals, including the notorious Ilse Koch. Most were German prisoners of war of various ranks who were to be "denazified" by the German authorities. I was positive that Ilse Koch, the "Bitch of Buchenwald," had become impregnated by a cook from compound 3. Our informants reported that he had gained access to the compound where she was being held by crawling through a heating tunnel.

It is very unfortunate that I've lost most of my papers from those days during my 33 years of military service, and owing in part to a tornado that vacuumed away many of my personal papers into "the blue."

*Clifford R. Merrill
Colonel, US Army (ret.)
Fort Collins, Col.*

Revisionist Scholarship Denied

The enemy simply refuses to grant the existence of such a thing as revisionist scholarship on the Holocaust issue. It is all dismissed as propaganda, or as part and parcel of some political agenda. This is repeated in every conceivable way, but it so flatly wrong that their hysteria is readily understandable.

*A.G.
Washington, DC*

Notable Exception

Vladimir Lenin, founder of Soviet Russia, died in 1924. In spite of the catastrophic failure of the Communist experiment, he is still honored with a great mausoleum in Moscow. Joseph Stalin, who killed vastly more people than Hitler, is remembered by many Russians as a great military leader and the builder of a powerful state. His grave in Moscow is decorated with flowers. Not long ago Georgia republic premier Eduard Shevardnadze paid tribute to the wartime Soviet dictator, laying a wreath at his birthplace.

China's tyrannical Communist leader, Mao Zedong — whose victims outnumber even Stalin's — is honored with a magnificent mausoleum in Beijing. Grateful Spaniards gather annually at the imposing burial monument of *Caudillo* Francisco Franco at the "Valley of the Fallen." Every year many people come to view the magnificent grave of Napoleon in Paris. Mussolini's mortal remains are respectfully interned in a family crypt in Italy. In Romania people honor the memory of their nation's wartime leader, Marshal Ion Antonescu, with even the country's parliament paying tribute.

Japan's World War II emperor, Hirohito, who died in 1989, is remembered with honor. Even the nation's wartime political premier, Hideki Tojo — who was hanged in 1948 as a war criminal during the US occupation — is not dishonored. At the Yasukuni shrine, prominent Japanese political figures regularly pay homage

to the memory of their country's wartime dead, including Tojo.

A notable exception is Adolf Hitler. Endlessly vilified as a modern-day secular Satan and the personification of evil, there is no public monument anywhere to him or his memory. Why is Hitler unique? Is this special treatment due to the intense, seemingly endless hatred of his enemies, or is it an expression of the profound impact and durable fascination he still exerts on the world?

*P.M.
Spokane, Wash.*

Shermer's Flawed Comparison

During the Holocaust debate (reported in the Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*, p. 29), Dr. Michael Shermer equated Dr. Robert Faurisson's often-repeated demand for "just one proof" of a Nazi homicidal gas chamber with a Creationist demand for one fossil to prove evolution.

This flawed comparison shows a lack of clear thinking. Contrary to what Shermer implies, Faurisson does not say that the existence of a wartime Nazi gas chamber would prove the Holocaust. The comparable analogy would be a Creationist call for just one fossil to prove the existence of fossils. Even so, just as a single fossil does not prove evolution, neither would the existence of a Nazi homicidal gas chamber prove that there was a German wartime policy to exterminate Jews.

In fact, if the Germans had developed "gas chamber" technology for killing masses of people, the existence of millions of Jewish survivors at the end of the war would suggest that there was no German program to exterminate Europe's Jews.

*Neil Martin
Los Angeles*

No Gas Chambers Found

From my point of view, Theodore O'Keefe's article in the July-August 1995 issue, "The Liberation of the Camps: Facts and Lies," is the most accurate I have

seen to date on this subject.

During the final months of the war, I was a squad leader with Company G, 121st Infantry, 8th Infantry Division, attached to the Ninth US Army. After the December 1944 "Battle of the Bulge," until the fighting ended on May 8, 1945, we pushed across northern Germany.

As we made our way from Aachen to Schwerin (some 35 miles beyond the Elbe river), we liberated concentration camps and prisons. However, we failed to uncover any gas chambers, although we were the first on the scene and tried, when we had the time, to look for them. We were indeed curious. What struck me as odd at the time was that not one camp prisoner could direct us to a gas chamber. We were shown decontamination rooms, but no affirmation that they had been used to gas people.

We also saw the results of aerial bombings, which were part of the Allied policy of total war. Just as appalling as the concentration camps were our grisly encounters with body parts of dead Germans, including children, that we sometimes found in rubble when we had to dig in a defensive position.

Richard Gagnon
Whitinsville, Mass.

Never Believed

I am a disabled veteran of World War II, and I never for one minute believed the Holocaust fraud. I went through Dachau, and I said then that it was fake. I met too many German soldiers and people to ever believe such an atrocious lie.

God bless you.

V.S.
Hillsboro, Mo.

Democracy Wanted

Here in Germany, and especially in Bavaria where I live, no one is ready publicly to discuss your arguments about the murder of the Jews. Here the so-called Holocaust lie is punished with imprisonment. Oh God, what I

would give to live in your country, where there is a democracy like we should have here in Germany.

God protect you and all your friends.

[by internet from Germany]

Gratitude

I have been following the IHR's progress for a couple of years now, and although I don't have anything to say that hasn't been said before, I would like to express my gratitude for the work you do. My generation, which lives under constant social pressure to accept falsehoods without question, will require only time to continue the work that you and your colleagues initiated.

J.K.R.

[by Internet from Washington state]

Stalin's Holocaust

When speaking about "the Holocaust," we should ask "which one?" Most people refer to "the Holocaust" as if the wartime treatment of Europe's Jews is unique in the history of man's inhumanity to man.

Actually, there were two great "Holocausts" in mid-20th-century Europe. The first of these — little known in America today — was the mass famine of 1932-33 in Ukraine imposed by Soviet dictator Stalin, in which some eight million people were methodically starved to death. In his carefully researched study, *Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1986), historian Robert Conquest estimates that about seven million perished in the Soviet "dekulakization" and forced collectivization campaign of 1929-1932. In addition, "about seven million plus" lost their lives in the imposed Ukraine famine of 1932-33, of whom about three million were children.

"The total peasant dead as a result of the dekulakization and famine [was] about 14.5 million," concludes Conquest, who adds that these "are conservative figures." This is a toll greater than

the total number of deaths for all countries in World War I. Not only was the Ukrainian "Holocaust" greater in scope than the Jewish one, but the first served as a precedent for the second.

Similarly, Hitler did not invent concentration camps, nor did he innovate uprooting and deporting masses of people in rail freight cars. When the National Socialists came to power in Germany in 1933, the Soviets had already been operating a vast network of *Gulag* forced labor and concentration camps for more than a dozen years.

German history professor Ernst Nolte argues that the well-known brutal actions of Third Reich Germany were introduced at least in part as countermeasures responding to inhumane Soviet policies that threatened all of Europe. "Twentieth century world history is only understandable," he insists, "when one is willing to acknowledge the connection made by the enemies of Bolshevism between a fear of annihilation and an intention of annihilation, and to recognize the simple truth that the statements of anti-Communists [including the National Socialists] about the misdeeds of Bolshevism were, in fact, well grounded. (From Nolte's book *Streitpunkte*, quoted in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*, p. 40.)

In accord with the wishes of powerful interests, history is portrayed today in a very one-sided way — a distortion that is all more dangerous because Communism is not dead.

L.R.

Lethbridge, Canada

Preposterous Fables

Thank you for seeking out and publicizing historical truth. Over the years I have purchased, read and *studied* a number of your books, including Joseph Halow's *Innocent at Dachau* and James Bacque's *Other Losses*.

During the war I flew with the US air force that bombed Germany, and I know what shape the country was in. I also know why

piles of dead bodies were found by American soldiers in the final weeks of the war. Some of these lost their lives in Allied bombings, and many others were indirect casualties of the war as victims of epidemic and starvation.

It pains me that many people persist in believing the most preposterous imaginings, about not just the Nazis but the German people generally. For example, the lie of the Six Million is permanently inscribed in the Jewish chapel at the nearby Air Force Academy.

Another horrendous fable is the claim that the Germans killed prisoners in gas chambers in the Dachau concentration camp. The truth about this particular matter is established in the memoir-study by Joseph Halow, who obviously has no axe to grind.

And yet, my own brother-in-law, who was an infantryman with the US Army's 45th Division unit that liberated the Dachau camp, tells me: "We saw the gas chambers, and we saw where they [the Germans] cut the prisoners' throats and collected the blood." Actually, he wouldn't know a gas chamber from a cow barn, and neither would I. Anyway, that prisoners would have been killed using both methods concurrently is itself illogical.

I told him of Halow's charge, based on declassified US Army records, that American troops massacred the camp's German guards on liberation day. He responded by saying, "That was 'E' Company," at least confirming something he had never previously mentioned.

*J.R. Arter, Col. USAF (ret.)
Colorado Springs, Col.*

Lipstadt's Double Standard

Deborah Lipstadt, a vociferous critic of those who are skeptical of Holocaust extermination claims, has received enthusiastic praise for her anti-revisionist book, *Denying the Holocaust* [reviewed in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 and Sept.-Oct. 1995 *Journal*]. Throughout her strident and spiteful polemic,

she condemns certain revisionists as evil racists because they wish to preserve the integrity of the White race and European culture. The hidden "agenda" of the Institute for Historical Review, she falsely asserts (p. 142), is "to rehabilitate national socialism, inculcate anti-semitism and racism, and oppose democracy."

Lipstadt's complaint is hypocrisy. As it turns out, she is no less concerned about preserving her own people's identity than are those whom she maligns. In the book *Embracing the Stranger: Intermarriage and the Future of the American Jewish Community* (Basic Books, 1995, p. 18), Jewish author and educator Ellen Jaffe McClain reports:

Although people like Deborah Lipstadt, the Emory University professor who has written and lectured widely on Holocaust denial, have exhorted Jewish parents to just say no to intermarriage [with non-Jews], much the way they expect their children not to take drugs, a large majority of [Jewish] parents (and more than a few rabbis) are unable to lay down opposition to intermarriage as a strict operating principle.

In a 1991 article cited by McClain (p. 231), Lipstadt expresses the view that Jewish parents should flatly tell their children: "I expect you to marry

Jews."

While Lipstadt urges Jews to marry only Jews to preserve the Jewish nation, she condemns non-Jews who manifest similar concern for the survival of their own peoplehood. As Jewish scholar Israel Shahak points out in his brilliant work, *Jewish History, Jewish Religion: The Weight of Three Thousand Years*, this hypocritical double standard is deeply rooted in the Jewish Talmudic tradition.

*Paul Grubach
Lyndhurst, Ohio*

Causing a Commotion

First off, 6 million of my Jewish ancestors as well as 24 million other minorities on the 66 questions and answer list, you contradicted yourself. It angers me to call me, others that survived the holocaust and others that believe the holocaust went on. Second of all, I don't see how you can distribute this when we're trying to make peace and you're causing a commotion ...

*[signed]
An angry Jewish teenager
[mailed anonymously]*

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space. Write: Editor, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659.

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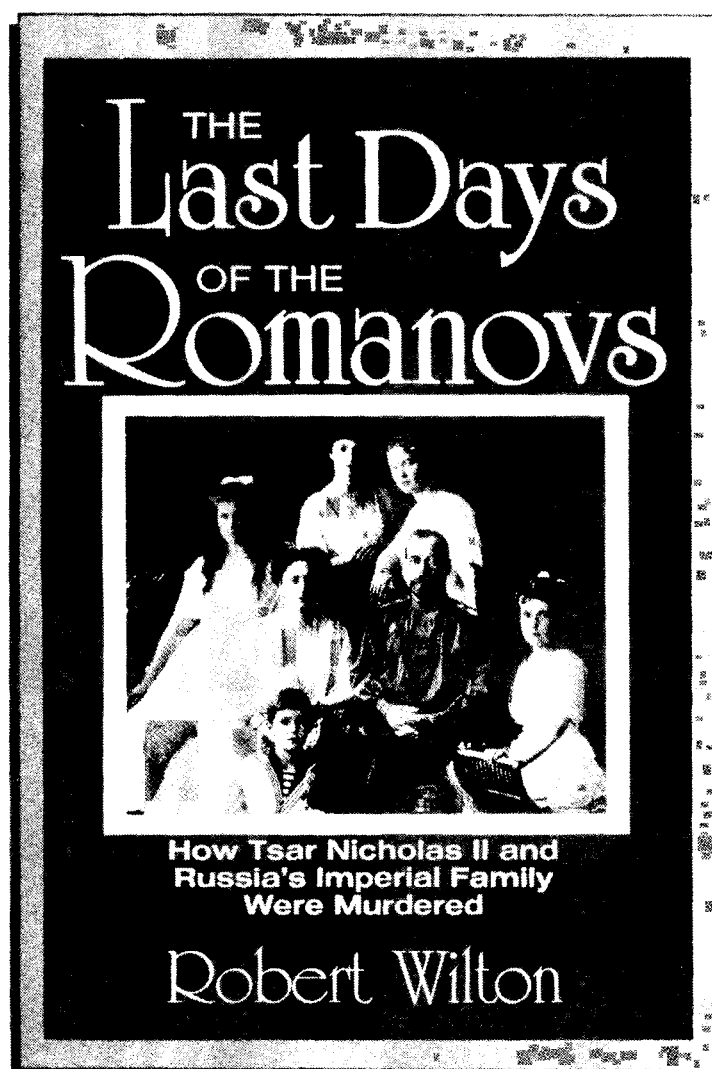
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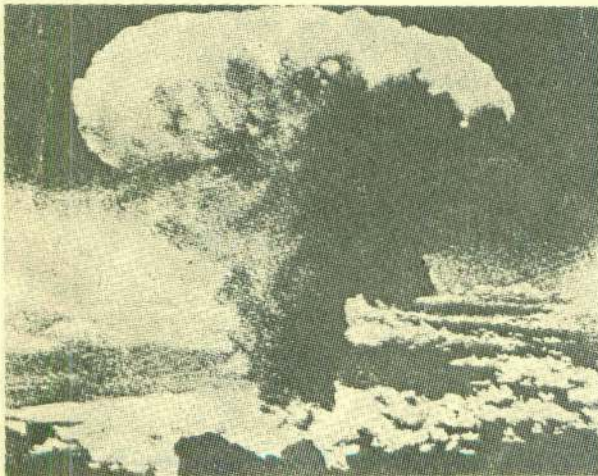
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The Journal of Historical Review

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Mark Weber

**American Leaders Planned
Poison Gas Attack Against Japan**

Clinton's Distortion of History

Capitalism in the New Russia

Daniel W. Michaels

Defense Department Booklet Targets Holocaust Revisionism

Thies Christophersen

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Must Remain a Dogma**

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On the cover:

Hiroshima in the wake of the atomic bombing of August 6, 1945.

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The Danger of Historical Lies

President Clinton's Distortion of History

On January 20, 1997, Bill Clinton began his second term as President with a swearing-in ceremony at the White House followed by an inaugural address. During the first few minutes of this speech, Clinton briefly surveyed the history of the past ten decades:

What a century it has been. America became the world's mightiest industrial power; saved the world from tyranny in two world wars and a long Cold War; and time and again, reached across the globe to millions who longed for the blessings of liberty.

Not only do these proud, even boastful words contain historical lies, they manifest an arrogance that lays the groundwork for future calamity. In truth, in neither the first nor the second world wars did the United States "save the world from tyranny."

World War I

In April 1917, President Woodrow Wilson called for America's entry into World War I by proclaiming that "the world must be made safe for democracy." On another occasion, he declared that US participation in the conflict would make it a "war to end war." To secure support for this crusade, newspapers and political leaders, and an official US government propaganda agency, portrayed Germany as a power-mad tyranny that threatened the liberty of the world.

However, within just a few years after the November 1918 armistice that ended the fighting, this wartime propaganda image was widely recognized as absurd. Today no serious historian regards Wilhelmine Germany as a "tyranny," or believes that it posed any kind of threat to the United States, much less "the world."

Ironically, America's principal allies in World War I — Britain and France — were at the time the world's greatest imperial powers. (A sore point for many Americans of Irish background was Britain's control of Ireland.) Many in the United States regarded Britain, not Germany, as the foremost threat to world liberty, recalling that Americans had waged a bitter, drawn-out war for independence

from British rule (1775–1783), and that during a second war with the same country (1812–1814) British troops had sacked and burned down the US capital.

World War II

President Clinton's distortion of history is even more glaring with regard to the Second World War. America's two most important military allies in that conflict were the foremost imperialist power (Britain) and the cruelest tyranny (Soviet Russia).

During both world wars, Britain ruled a vast global empire, subjugating millions against their will in what are now India, Pakistan, South Africa, Palestine/Israel, Egypt and Malaysia, to name but a few. America's other great wartime ally, Stalinist Russia, was, by any objective measure, a vastly more cruel despotism than Hitler's Germany.

If the US had not intervened in World War II, Germany and its allies might have succeeded in vanquishing Soviet Communism. A victory of the Axis powers also would have meant no Communist subjugation of eastern Europe and China, no protracted East-West "Cold War," and no "hot wars" in Korea and Vietnam.

In fact, and contrary to Clinton's version of history, during the Second War the United States helped substantially to *preserve* the world's most terrible tyranny. In cooperation with the Soviet Union, the United States helped to *oppress* "millions who longed for the blessings of liberty."

Today's political and intellectual leaders seem eager to whitewash or forget the Soviet role in the World War II, or America's cordial wartime alliance with Soviet Russia and its leader. To solidify the Allied coalition — formally known as the "United Nations" — President Franklin Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin met together in person on two occasions: in November 1943 at Teheran, Iran, and in February 1945 in Yalta, Crimea.

In a joint declaration issued at the conclusion of the Teheran meeting, the three leaders expressed "our determination that our nations shall work together in war and in the peace that will follow." The "Big Three" continued:

We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command the good will of the overwhelming mass of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.

We shall seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them, as they may choose to come, into a world family of democratic nations.

...Emerging from these cordial conferences we look with confidence to the day when all the peoples of the world may live free, untouched by tyranny, according to their varying desires and their own consciences.

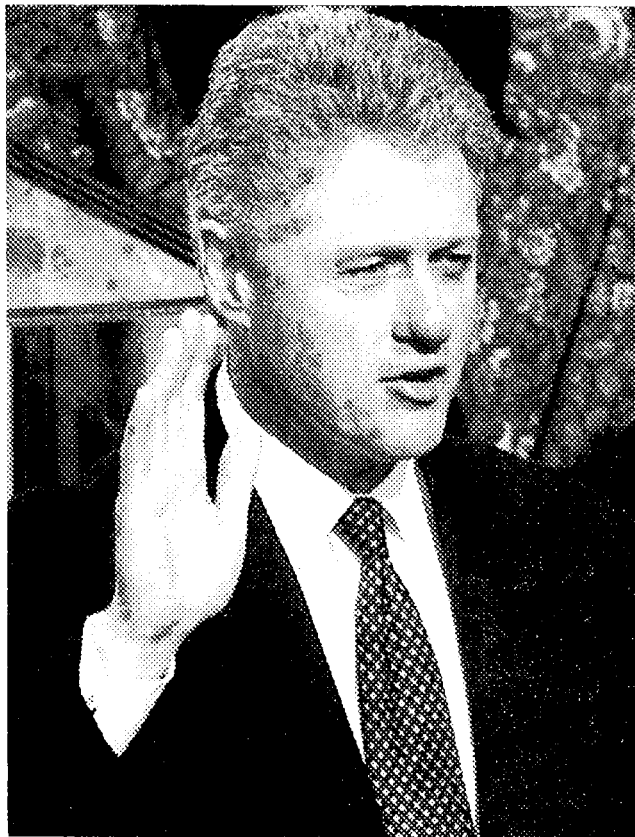
To emphasize the trusting nature of their alliance, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin concluded their joint statement with the words: "We came here with hope and determination. We leave here, friends in fact, in spirit and in purpose."

The wartime leaders of the United States, Britain and Soviet Russia accomplished precisely what they accused the Axis leaders of Germany, Italy and Japan of conspiring to achieve: world domination. At the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam conferences, and in crass violation of their own loftily proclaimed principles, the US, British and Soviet leaders disposed of millions of people with no regard for their wishes (most tragically, perhaps, in the case of Poland). To insure the rule of the victorious Allied powers after the war, the "Big Three" established the United Nations organization to function as a permanent global police force.

Lessons

Many Americans recall their country's role in the Vietnam war, and other overseas military adventures since 1945, with embarrassment and even shame. But most Americans — whether they call themselves conservative or liberal — like to regard World War II as "the good war," a morally unambiguous conflict between Good and Evil. So successfully have politicians and intellectual leaders, together with the mass media, promoted this childish, self-righteous view of history, that President Clinton could be confident that it would be accepted without objection.

The President's distortion of history is all the more remarkable considering that in this same inaugural speech he proclaimed the dawning of an "information age" in which "education will be every citizen's most prized possession."



In his second inaugural address, President Clinton declared that the United States had "saved the world from tyranny in two world wars."

How a nation views the past is not a trivial or merely academic exercise. Our perspective on history profoundly shapes our actions in the present, often with grave consequences for the future. Drawing conclusions from our understanding of the past, we make or support policies that greatly impact the lives of millions.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, for example, political leaders, journalists and scholars often rationalized and justified America's ill-fated role in the Vietnam war on the basis of a badly distorted understanding of Third Reich Germany, drawing faulty historical parallels between Ho Chi Minh and Hitler, with erroneous references to the September 1938 Munich Conference.

The hubris of Clinton's portrayal of history is not merely an affront against historical truth, it is dangerous because it sanctions potentially even more calamitous military adventures in the future. After all, if the United States was as righteous and as successful as the President says it was in "saving the world" in two world wars, why would anyone oppose similar world-saving crusades in the future?

— M.W.

Was Hiroshima Necessary?

Why the Atomic Bombings Could Have Been Avoided

MARK WEBER

On August 6, 1945, the world dramatically entered the atomic age: without either warning or precedent, an American plane dropped a single nuclear bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. The explosion utterly destroyed more than four square miles of the city center. About 90,000 people were killed immediately; another 40,000 were injured, many of whom died in protracted agony from radiation sickness. Three days later, a second atomic strike on the city of Nagasaki killed some 37,000 people and injured another 43,000. Together the two bombs eventually killed an estimated 200,000 Japanese civilians.

Between the two bombings, Soviet Russia joined the United States in war against Japan. Under strong US prodding, Stalin broke his regime's 1941 non-aggression treaty with Tokyo. On the same day that Nagasaki was destroyed, Soviet troops began pouring into Manchuria, overwhelming Japanese forces there. Although Soviet participation did little or nothing to change the military outcome of the war, Moscow benefitted enormously from joining the conflict.

In a broadcast from Tokyo the next day, August 10, the Japanese government announced its readiness to accept the joint American-British "unconditional surrender" declaration of Potsdam, "with the understanding that the said declaration does not compromise any demand which prejudices the prerogatives of His Majesty as a Sovereign Ruler."

A day later came the American reply, which included these words: "From the moment of surrender the authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government to rule the State shall be subject to the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers." Finally, on August 14, the Japanese formally accepted the provisions of the Potsdam declaration, and a "cease fire" was announced. On September 2, Japanese envoys signed the instrument of surrender aboard the US battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay.

A Beaten Country

Apart from the moral questions involved, were the atomic bombings *militarily* necessary? By any rational yardstick, they were not. Japan already had been defeated militarily by June 1945. Almost

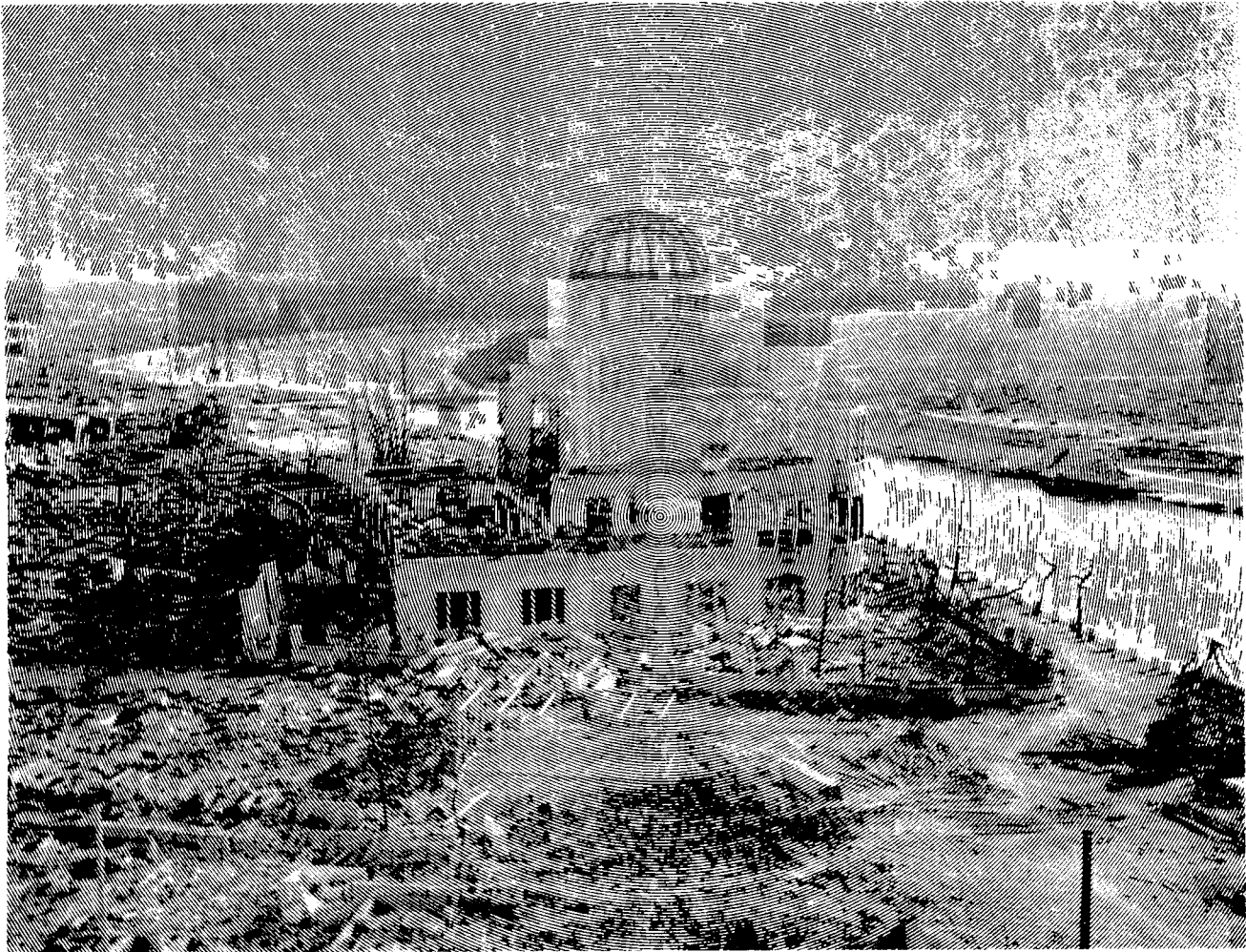
nothing was left of the once mighty Imperial Navy, and Japan's air force had been all but totally destroyed. Against only token opposition, American war planes ranged at will over the country, and US bombers rained down devastation *on her cities*, steadily reducing them to rubble.

What was left of Japan's factories and workshops struggled fitfully to turn out weapons and other goods from inadequate raw materials. (Oil supplies had not been available since April.) By July about a quarter of all the houses in Japan had been destroyed, and her transportation system was near collapse. Food had become so scarce that most Japanese were subsisting on a sub-starvation diet.

On the night of March 9–10, 1945, a wave of 300 American bombers struck Tokyo, killing 100,000 people. Dropping nearly 1,700 tons of bombs, the war planes ravaged much of the capital city, completely burning out 16 square miles and destroying a quarter of a million structures. A million residents were left homeless.

On May 23, eleven weeks later, came the greatest air raid of the Pacific War, when 520 giant B-29 "Superfortress" bombers unleashed 4,500 tons of incendiary bombs on the heart of the already battered Japanese capital. Generating gale-force winds, the exploding incendiaries obliterated Tokyo's commercial center and railway yards, and consumed the Ginza entertainment district. Two days later, on May 25, a second strike of 502 "Superfortress" planes roared low over Tokyo, raining down some 4,000 tons of explosives. Together these two B-29 raids destroyed 56 square miles of the Japanese capital.

Even before the Hiroshima attack, American air force General Curtis LeMay boasted that American bombers were "driving them [Japanese] back to the stone age." Henry H. ("Hap") Arnold, commanding General of the Army air forces, declared in his 1949 memoirs: "It always appeared to us, atomic bomb or no atomic bomb, the Japanese were already on the verge of collapse." This was confirmed by former Japanese prime minister Fumimaro Konoye, who said: "Fundamentally, the thing that brought about the determination to make peace was the prolonged bombing by the B-29s."



Hiroshima in the wake of the atomic bombing of August 6, 1945. Located directly below the epicenter of the blast are the ruins of Sei hospital. The single bomb dropped on the city used Uranium 235, producing explosive force equal to 13 kilotons of TNT. Completely destroying more than four square miles of the city center, the blast immediately killed about 90,000 people. Another 40,000 were injured, of whom many died later of radiation sickness.

Japan Seeks Peace

Months before the end of the war, Japan's leaders recognized that defeat was inevitable. In April 1945 a new government headed by Kantaro Suzuki took office with the mission of ending the war. When Germany capitulated in early May, the Japanese understood that the British and Americans would now direct the full fury of their awesome military power exclusively against them.

American officials, having long since broken Japan's secret codes, knew from intercepted messages that the country's leaders were seeking to end the war on terms as favorable as possible. Details of these efforts were known from decoded secret communications between the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo and Japanese diplomats abroad.

In his 1965 study, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima*

and *Potsdam* (pp. 107, 108), historian Gar Alperovitz writes:

Although Japanese peace feelers had been sent out as early as September 1944 (and [China's] Chiang Kai-shek had been approached regarding surrender possibilities in December 1944), the real effort to end the war began in the spring of 1945. This effort stressed the role of the Soviet Union ...

In mid-April [1945] the [US] Joint Intelligence Committee reported that Japanese leaders were looking for a way to modify the surrender terms to end the war. The State Department was convinced the Emperor was actively seeking a way to stop the fighting.



A cloud of smoke arises from the enormous explosion of the bombing of Nagasaki, August 9, 1945. Some 37,000 people were killed, and another 43,000 were injured, in the attack. Coming three days after the atomic destruction of Hiroshima, this was the second and last time the new atomic weapon was used.

A Secret Memorandum

It was only after the war that the American public learned about Japan's efforts to bring the conflict to an end. *Chicago Tribune* reporter Walter Trohan, for example, was obliged by wartime censorship to withhold for seven months one of the most important stories of the war.

In an article that finally appeared August 19, 1945, on the front pages of the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Washington Times-Herald*, Trohan revealed that on January 20, 1945, two days prior to his departure for the Yalta meeting with Stalin and Churchill, President Roosevelt received a 40-page memorandum from General Douglas MacArthur outlining five separate surrender overtures from high-level Japanese officials. (The complete text of Trohan's article is in the Winter 1985–86 *Journal*, pp. 508–512.)

This memo showed that the Japanese were offering surrender terms virtually identical to the ones ultimately accepted by the Americans at the formal

surrender ceremony on September 2 — that is, complete surrender of everything but the person of the Emperor. Specifically, the terms of these peace overtures included:

- Complete surrender of all Japanese forces and arms, at home, on island possessions, and in occupied countries.
- Occupation of Japan and its possessions by Allied troops under American direction.
- Japanese relinquishment of all territory seized during the war, as well as Manchuria, Korea and Taiwan.
- Regulation of Japanese industry to halt production of any weapons and other tools of war.
- Release of all prisoners of war and internees.
- Surrender of designated war criminals.

Is this memorandum authentic? It was supposedly leaked to Trohan by Admiral William D. Leahy, presidential Chief of Staff. (See: M. Rothbard in A. Goddard, ed., *Harry Elmer Barnes: Learned Crusader* [1968], pp. 327f.) Historian Harry Elmer Barnes has related (in "Hiroshima: Assault on a Beaten Foe," *National Review*, May 10, 1958):

The authenticity of the Trohan article was never challenged by the White House or the State Department, and for very good reason. After General MacArthur returned from Korea in 1951, his neighbor in the Waldorf Towers, former President Herbert Hoover, took the Trohan article to General MacArthur and the latter confirmed its accuracy in every detail and without qualification.

Peace Overtures

In April and May 1945, Japan made three attempts through neutral Sweden and Portugal to bring the war to a peaceful end. On April 7, acting Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu met with Swedish ambassador Widon Bagge in Tokyo, asking him "to ascertain what peace terms the United States and Britain had in mind." But he emphasized that unconditional surrender was unacceptable, and that "the Emperor must not be touched." Bagge relayed the message to the United States, but Secretary of State Stettinius told the US Ambassador in Sweden to "show no interest or take any initiative in pursuit of the matter." Similar Japanese peace signals through Portugal, on May 7, and again through Sweden, on the 10th, proved similarly fruitless.

By mid-June, six members of Japan's Supreme War Council had secretly charged Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo with the task of approaching Soviet Russia's leaders "with a view to terminating the war if possible by September." On June 22 the Emperor called a meeting of the Supreme War Council, which

included the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, and the leading military figures. "We have heard enough of this determination of yours to fight to the last soldiers," said Emperor Hirohito. "We wish that you, leaders of Japan, will strive now to study the ways and the means to conclude the war. In doing so, try not to be bound by the decisions you have made in the past."

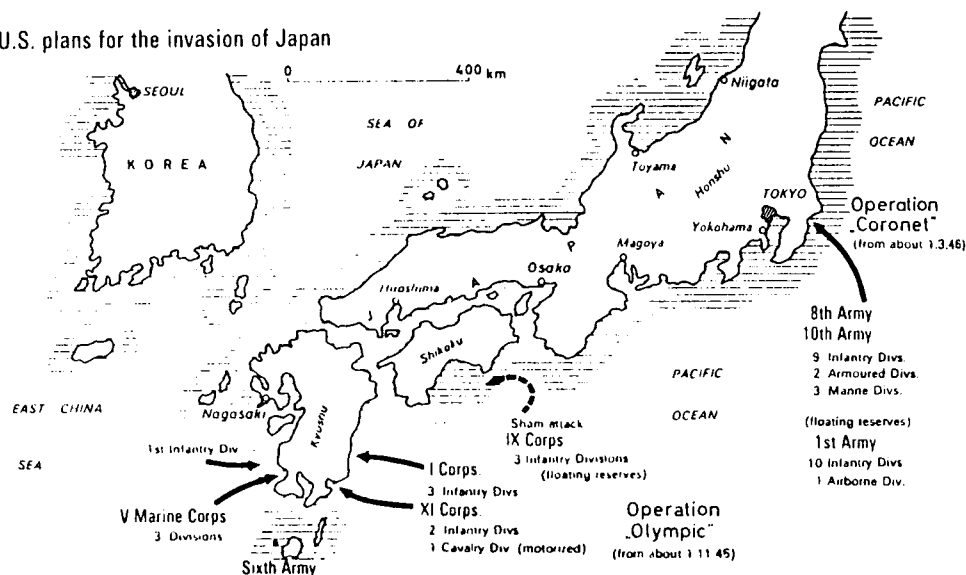
By early July the US had intercepted messages from Togo to the Japanese ambassador in Moscow, Naotake Sato, showing that the Emperor himself was taking a personal hand in the peace effort, and had directed that the Soviet Union be asked to help end the war. US officials also knew that the key obstacle to ending the war was American insistence on "unconditional surrender," a demand that precluded any negotiations. The Japanese were willing to accept nearly everything, except turning over their semi-divine Emperor. Heir of a 2,600-year-old dynasty, Hirohito was regarded by his people as a "living god" who personified the nation. (Until the August 15 radio broadcast of his surrender announcement, the Japanese people had never heard his voice.) Japanese particularly feared that the Americans would humiliate the Emperor, and even execute him as a war criminal.

On July 12, Hirohito summoned Fumimaro Konoye, who had served as prime minister in 1940–41. Explaining that "it will be necessary to terminate the war without delay," the Emperor said that he wished Konoye to secure peace with the Americans and British through the Soviets. As Prince Konoye later recalled, the Emperor instructed him "to secure peace at any price, notwithstanding its severity."

The next day, July 13, Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo wired ambassador Naotake Sato in Moscow: "See [Soviet foreign minister] Molotov before his departure for Potsdam... Convey His Majesty's strong desire to secure a termination of the war... Unconditional surrender is the only obstacle to peace ..."

On July 17, another intercepted Japanese message revealed that although Japan's leaders felt

U.S. plans for the invasion of Japan



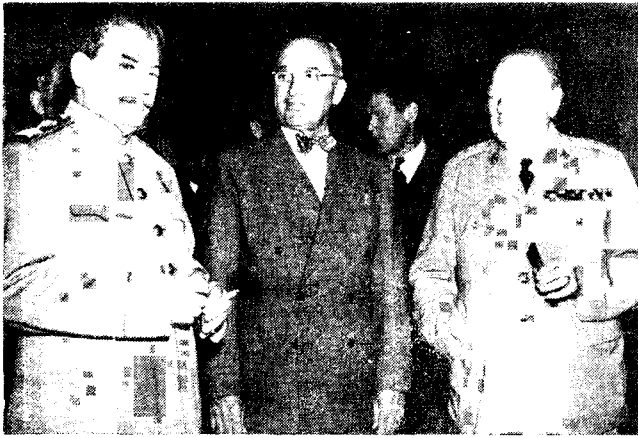
"Operation Downfall," the American plan for the invasion of Japan proper, called for a two-stage assault. The invasion of the southernmost home island of Kyushu, code-named **"Operation Olympic,"** was set for November 1, 1945. This was to be followed by **"Operation Coronet,"** an invasion of the main Japanese home island of Honshu, scheduled for March 1946.

that the unconditional surrender formula involved an unacceptable dishonor, they were convinced that "the demands of the times" made Soviet mediation to terminate the war absolutely essential. Further diplomatic messages indicated that the only condition asked by the Japanese was preservation of "our form of government." The only "difficult point," a July 25 message disclosed, "is the...formality of unconditional surrender."

Summarizing the messages between Togo and Sato, US naval intelligence said that Japan's leaders, "though still balking at the term unconditional surrender," recognized that the war was lost, and had reached the point where they have "no objection to the restoration of peace on the basis of the [1941] Atlantic Charter." These messages, said Assistant Secretary of the Navy Lewis Strauss, "indeed stipulated only that the integrity of the Japanese Royal Family be preserved."

Navy Secretary James Forrestal termed the intercepted messages "real evidence of a Japanese desire to get out of the war." "With the interception of these messages," notes historian Alperovitz (p. 177), "there could no longer be any real doubt as to the Japanese intentions; the maneuvers were overt and explicit and, most of all, official acts. Koichi Kido, Japan's Lord Privy Seal and a close advisor to the Emperor, later affirmed: "Our decision to seek a way out of this war, was made in early June before any atomic bomb had been dropped and Russia had not entered the war. It was already our decision."

In spite of this, on July 26 the leaders of the



The Allied “Big Three” meet on July 17, 1945, at Potsdam, near Berlin, in defeated Germany. President Truman stands between Soviet premier Stalin and British prime minister Churchill. It was at this conference that Japan was given the grim ultimatum: proclaim “unconditional surrender” or face “prompt and utter destruction.”

United States and Britain issued the Potsdam declaration, which included this grim ultimatum: “We call upon the government of Japan to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces and to provide proper and adequate assurance of good faith in such action. The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction.”

Commenting on this draconian either-or proclamation, British historian J.F.C. Fuller wrote: “Not a word was said about the Emperor, because it would be unacceptable to the propaganda-fed American masses.” (*A Military History of the Western World* [1987], p. 675.)

America’s leaders understood Japan’s desperate position: the Japanese were willing to end the war on any terms, as long as the Emperor was not molested. If the US leadership had not insisted on *unconditional* surrender — that is, if they had made clear a willingness to permit the Emperor to remain in place — the Japanese very likely would have surrendered immediately, thus saving many thousands of lives.

The sad irony is that, as it actually turned out, the American leaders decided anyway to retain the Emperor as a symbol of authority and continuity. They realized, correctly, that Hirohito was useful as a figurehead prop for their own occupation authority in postwar Japan.

Justifications

President Truman steadfastly defended his use of the atomic bomb, claiming that it “saved millions of lives” by bringing the war to a quick end. Justify-

ing his decision, he went so far as to declare: “The world will note that the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a military base. That was because we wished in this first attack to avoid, insofar as possible, the killing of civilians.”

This was a preposterous statement. In fact, almost all of the victims were civilians, and the United States Strategic Bombing Survey (issued in 1946) stated in its official report: “Hiroshima and Nagasaki were chosen as targets because of their concentration of activities and population.”

If the atomic bomb was dropped to impress the Japanese leaders with the immense destructive power of a new weapon, this could have been accomplished by deploying it on an isolated military base. It was not necessary to destroy a large city. And whatever the justification for the Hiroshima blast, it is much more difficult to defend the second bombing of Nagasaki.

All the same, most Americans accepted, and continue to accept, the official justifications for the bombings. Accustomed to crude propagandistic portrayals of the “Japs” as virtually subhuman beasts, most Americans in 1945 heartily welcomed any new weapon that would wipe out more of the detested Asians, and help avenge the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. For the young Americans who were



Japan is portrayed as a monstrous reptile, labeled “The Yellow Peril,” in this *Chicago Tribune* cartoon, published two weeks after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

fighting the Japanese in bitter combat, the attitude was "Thank God for the atom bomb." Almost to a man, they were grateful for a weapon whose deployment seemed to end the war and thus allow them to return home.

After the July 1943 firestorm destruction of Hamburg, the mid-February 1945 holocaust of Dresden, and the fire-bombings of Tokyo and other Japanese cities, America's leaders — as US Army General Leslie Groves later commented — "were generally inured to the mass killing of civilians." For President Harry Truman, the killing of tens of thousands of Japanese civilians was simply not a consideration in his decision to use the atom bomb.

Critical Voices

Amid the general clamor of enthusiasm, there were some who had grave misgivings. "We are the inheritors to the mantle of Genghis Khan," wrote *New York Times* editorial writer Hanson Baldwin, "and of all those in history who have justified the

"Hiroshima and Nagasaki were chosen as targets because of their concentration of activities and population."

— US Strategic Bombing Survey

use of utter ruthlessness in war." Norman Thomas called Nagasaki "the greatest single atrocity of a very cruel war." Joseph P. Kennedy, father of the President, was similarly appalled.

A leading voice of American Protestantism, *Christian Century*, strongly condemned the bombings. An editorial entitled "America's Atomic Atrocity" in the issue of August 29, 1945, told readers:

The atomic bomb was used at a time when Japan's navy was sunk, her air force virtually destroyed, her homeland surrounded, her supplies cut off, and our forces poised for the final stroke... Our leaders seem not to have weighed the moral considerations involved. No sooner was the bomb ready than it was rushed to the front and dropped on two helpless cities... The atomic bomb can fairly be said to have struck Christianity itself... The churches of America must dissociate themselves and their faith from this inhuman and reckless act of the American Government.

A leading American Catholic voice, *Commonweal*, took a similar view. Hiroshima and Nagasaki,



General Dwight Eisenhower thought that using the atomic bomb against Japan was "completely unnecessary."

the magazine editorialized, "are names for American guilt and shame."

Pope Pius XII likewise condemned the bombings, expressing a view in keeping with the traditional Roman Catholic position that "every act of war directed to the indiscriminate destruction of whole cities or vast areas with their inhabitants is a crime against God and man." The Vatican newspaper *Osservatore Romano* commented in its August 7, 1945, issue: "This war provides a catastrophic conclusion. Incredibly this destructive weapon remains as a temptation for posterity, which, we know by bitter experience, learns so little from history."

Authoritative Voices of Dissent

American leaders who were in a position to know the facts did not believe, either at the time or later, that the atomic bombings were needed to end the war.

When he was informed in mid-July 1945 by Sec-



Leo Szilard, a key figure in early nuclear weapons development, argued that using the atom bomb against Japan was both militarily unnecessary and immoral.

retary of War Henry L. Stimson of the decision to use the atomic bomb, General Dwight Eisenhower was deeply troubled. He disclosed his strong reservations about using the new weapon in his 1963 memoir, *The White House Years: Mandate for Change, 1953-1956* (pp. 312-313):

During his [Stimson's] recitation of the relevant facts, I had been conscious of a

feeling of depression and so I voiced to him my grave misgivings, first on the basis of my belief that Japan was already defeated and that dropping the bomb was completely unnecessary, and secondly because I thought that our country should avoid shocking world opinion by the use of a weapon whose employment was, I thought, no longer mandatory as a measure to save American lives. It was my belief that Japan was, at that very moment, seeking some way to surrender with a minimum loss of "face."

"The Japanese were ready to surrender and it wasn't necessary to hit them with that awful thing ... I hated to see our country be the first to use such a weapon," Eisenhower said in 1963.

Shortly after "V-J Day," the end of the Pacific war, Brig. General Bonnie Fellers summed up in a memo for General MacArthur: "Neither the atomic bombing nor the entry of the Soviet Union into the war forced Japan's unconditional surrender. She was defeated before either these events took place."

Similarly, Admiral Leahy, Chief of Staff to presidents Roosevelt and Truman, later commented:

It is my opinion that the use of the barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan... The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender because of the effective sea blockade and the successful bombing with conven-

tional weapons... My own feeling was that in being the first to use it, we had adopted an ethical standard common to the barbarians of the Dark Ages. I was not taught to make war in that fashion, and wars cannot be won by destroying women and children.

If the United States had been willing to wait, said Admiral Ernest King, US Chief of Naval Oper-

"If the Germans had dropped atomic bombs on cities instead of us, we would have defined the dropping of atomic bombs on cities as a war crime, and we would have sentenced the Germans who were guilty of this crime to death at Nuremberg and hanged them."

— Leo Szilard, atomic bomb scientist

ations, "the effective naval blockade would, in the course of time, have starved the Japanese into submission through lack of oil, rice, medicines, and other essential materials."

Leo Szilard, a Hungarian-born scientist who played a major role in the development of the atomic bomb, argued against its use. "Japan was essentially defeated," he said, and "it would be wrong to attack its cities with atomic bombs as if atomic bombs were simply another military weapon." In a 1960 magazine article, Szilard wrote: "If the Germans had dropped atomic bombs on cities instead of us, we would have defined the dropping of atomic bombs on cities as a war crime, and we would have sentenced the Germans who were guilty of this crime to death at Nuremberg and hanged them."

US Strategic Bombing Survey Verdict

After studying this matter in great detail, the United States Strategic Bombing Survey rejected the notion that Japan gave up because of the atomic bombings. In its authoritative 1946 report, the Survey concluded:

The Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs did not defeat Japan, nor by the testimony of the enemy leaders who ended the war did they persuade Japan to accept unconditional surrender. The Emperor, the Lord Privy Seal, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, and the Navy Minister had decided as early as May of 1945 that the war should be ended even if it meant

acceptance of defeat on allied terms ...

The mission of the Suzuki government, appointed 7 April 1945, was to make peace. An appearance of negotiating for terms less onerous than unconditional surrender was maintained in order to contain the military and bureaucratic elements still determined on a final Bushido defense, and perhaps even more importantly to obtain freedom to create peace with a minimum of personal danger and internal obstruction. It seems clear, however, that in extremis the peacemakers would have peace, and peace on any terms. This was the gist of advice given to Hirohito by the Jushin in February, the declared conclusion of Kido in April, the underlying reason for Koiso's fall in April, the specific injunction of the Emperor to Suzuki on becoming premier which was known to all members of his cabinet ...

Negotiations for Russia to intercede began the forepart of May 1945 in both Tokyo and Moscow. Konoye, the intended emissary to the Soviets, stated to the Survey that while ostensibly he was to negotiate, he received direct and secret instructions from the Emperor to secure peace at any price, notwithstanding its severity ...

It seems clear...that air supremacy and its later exploitation over Japan proper was the major factor which determined the timing of Japan's surrender and obviated any need for invasion.

Based on a detailed investigation of all the facts and supported by the testimony of the surviving Japanese leaders involved, it is the Survey's opinion that certainly prior to 31 December 1945 and in all probability prior to 1 November 1945 [the date of the planned American invasion], Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated.

Historians' Views

In a 1986 study, historian and journalist Edwin P. Hoyt nailed the "great myth, perpetuated by well-meaning people throughout the world," that "the atomic bomb caused the surrender of Japan." In *Japan's War: The Great Pacific Conflict* (p. 420), he explained:

The fact is that as far as the Japanese militarists were concerned, the atomic bomb was just another weapon. The two atomic bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki were icing on the cake, and did not do as much damage as the

firebombings of Japanese cities. The B-29 firebombing campaign had brought the destruction of 3,100,000 homes, leaving 15 million people homeless, and killing about a million of them. It was the ruthless firebombing, and Hirohito's realization that if necessary the Allies *would* completely destroy Japan and kill every Japanese to achieve "unconditional surrender" that persuaded him to the decision to end the war. The atomic bomb is indeed a fearsome weapon, but it was not the cause of Japan's surrender, even though the myth persists even to this day.

In a trenchant new book, *The Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb* (Praeger, 1996), historian Dennis

"The atomic bomb had nothing to do with the end of the war."

— General Curtis LeMay

D. Wainstock concludes that the bombings were not only unnecessary, but were based on a vengeful policy that actually harmed American interests. He writes (pp. 124, 132):

... By April 1945, Japan's leaders realized that the war was lost. Their main stumbling block to surrender was the United States' insistence on unconditional surrender. They specifically needed to know whether the United States would allow Hirohito to remain on the throne. They feared that the United States would depose him, try him as a war criminal, or even execute him ...

Unconditional surrender was a policy of revenge, and it hurt America's national self-interest. It prolonged the war in both Europe and East Asia, and it helped to expand Soviet power in those areas.

General Douglas MacArthur, Commander of US Army forces in the Pacific, stated on numerous occasions before his death that the atomic bomb was completely unnecessary from a military point of view: "My staff was unanimous in believing that Japan was on the point of collapse and surrender."

General Curtis LeMay, who had pioneered precision bombing of Germany and Japan (and who later headed the Strategic Air Command and served as Air Force chief of staff), put it most succinctly: "The atomic bomb had nothing to do with the end of the war."

American Leaders Planned Poison Gas Attack Against Japan

A long-suppressed report written in June 1945 by the US Army's Chemical Warfare Service shows that American military leaders made plans for a massive preemptive poison gas attack to accompany an invasion of Japan. The 30-page document designated "gas attack zones" on detailed maps of Tokyo and other major Japanese cities. Army planners selected 50 urban and industrial targets in Japan, with 25 cities, including Tokyo, Osaka, Yokohama, Kobe and Kyoto, listed as "especially suitable for gas attacks."

In planning the invasion of Japan proper, America's military and political leaders expected the Japanese to fight with fanatic fervor in defense of their home islands. The overall US plan, code-named "Operation Downfall," called for a two-stage invasion. An assault on the southernmost Japanese home island of Kyushu, code-named "Operation Olympic," was set for November 1, 1945. This was to be followed by "Operation Coronet," scheduled for March 1946: an invasion of the main Japanese home island of Honshu, including an assault on Tokyo.

"Gas attacks of the size and intensity recommended on these 250 square miles of urban population," the US Army report declared, "might easily kill 5,000,000 people and injure that many more." In the first attack, which would be launched 15 days before the Kyushu landings, American bombers would drench much of Tokyo and other cities in an early morning attack with 54,000 tons of lethal phosgene gas. Tokyo would be the largest poison gas target, because an "attack of this size against an urban city of large population should be used to initiate gas warfare."

The report's three authors recommended that the US Joint Chiefs of Staff issue "a policy at once directing the use of toxic gas on both strategic and tactical targets in support of Operation Olympic." Planners called for the use of four kinds of gas, including phosgene (or carbonyl chloride), mustard gas, and hydrogen cyanide. The gas attack study was approved by the chief of the US Chemical Warfare Service, Major General William N. Porter. Only five copies were made of the top secret document, whose existence was first made public in July 1991.

After the horrific use of poison gas during the First World War, the major nations formally outlawed the use of this new weapon. This prohibition was included in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, the 1922 Treaty of Washington, and in a 1925 protocol

signed by more than 40 countries, including the United States. During the Second World War, both the United States and Germany produced and stockpiled lethal gas for possible use in the European conflict, but neither side — apparently fearful of retaliation — actually used the weapon.

Although the public policy in 1945 was that the United States would use gas only in retaliation for a Japanese first use, in private America's military leaders seriously considered striking first with poison gas. By the summer of 1945, American forces were already killing Japanese by the tens of thousands in indiscriminate fire-bombings. Given this, the step to killing by lethal gas was not a lengthy one.

On June 14, 1945, other documents show, Fleet Admiral Ernest King, a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, received a secret report on poison gas from Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall. The two men were key presidential advisers. President Truman met at the White House on June 18 with his principal military and civilian advisers to discuss the overall plan for the invasion of Japan. Apparently the gas attack plan was approved at that conference. Three days later, June 21, orders were given to step up production of several types of poison gas to provide stockpiles in the massive quantities urged in the study.

Two American historians, Thomas B. Allen and Norman Polmar, commented on the long-suppressed document in a 1995 article. The June 1945 report, they wrote, "raised the killing of enemy civilians to a level far beyond anything seen in World War II. No [other] known military document from World War II recommends such wholesale killing of civilians." (T. B. Allen and N. Polmar, "Poisonous invasion prelude," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Aug. 4, 1995 [*New York Times* special features].)

No American official has ever been demoted or even criticized for approving this murderous plan, which has received scant public attention. If Germany had used poison gas during the Second World War, surely the victorious Allies would have severely punished the responsible officials. Similarly, if German military leaders had approved a plan to gas London comparable to the 1945 American one to drench Tokyo in phosgene, doubtless it would have been cited endlessly as a striking example of Nazi evil, and those responsible for drafting it would have been vilified.

— M.W.

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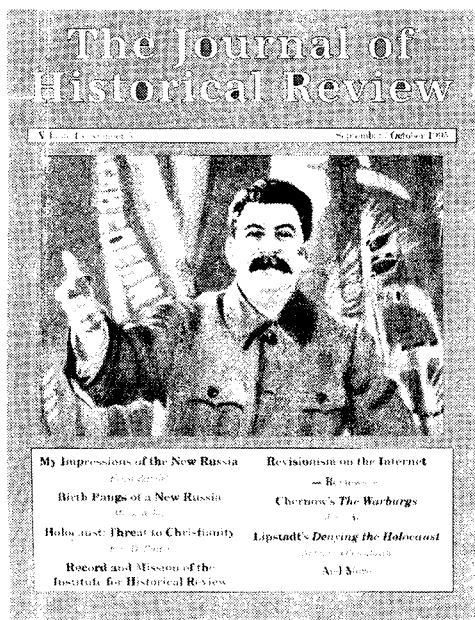
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The Ethics of War: Hiroshima and Nagasaki After 50 Years

GREGORY P. PAVLIK

The first use of an atomic bomb in warfare took place on August 6, 1945. The weapon was dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima by the US bomber *Enola Gay*, instantaneously destroying four square miles in the middle of the population center. The blast killed 66,000 men, women, and children, and injured an additional 69,000. A full 67 percent of Hiroshima's buildings, transportation systems, and urban structures were destroyed.

The next (and only other) atomic bomb to be dropped in warfare was detonated over the Japanese city of Nagasaki three days later. That blast killed 39,000 civilians and injured another 25,000; 40 percent of the city was destroyed or unrepairable. The Japanese government surrendered to the US government on August 10, 1945.

Since the last "good war," a debate has ensued over the moral legitimacy of the use of nuclear weapons, particularly against civilians. The critics hold that it is a crime to incinerate civilians *en masse*; defenders commonly claim that the bombing was necessary to bring the war to a close, thereby saving countless American lives. Most of those who make this claim do so in earnest. The problem is that this defense is both historically false, and taken to its logical conclusion, extremely dangerous.

But a discussion of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki cannot proceed without an overview of the imperialist motives for Japanese military aggression, which reflected the age-old drive for power through military intimidation and conquest. The Japanese desired a series of conquests, to constitute the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity sphere. This involved, most importantly, penetration into Korea, Manchuria, China, French Indochina, Malaya, and Burma.

What was clearly not their goal was a prolonged conflict with the United States or any of the other Allied Powers. After establishing their Asian impe-

rium and a defensive perimeter, the Japanese expected to reach a negotiated peace.

It should be clear that the attack on the American military base at Pearl Harbor was not a part of the long-term planning of the Japanese government. Indeed, conservatives and isolationists have long held the view that the Roosevelt administration provoked the Japanese into their aggressive stance as a back door to war in Europe.

Consider the facts leading up to the attack: Roosevelt had made a commitment to Churchill that the United States would enter into the Asian conflict if the British were attacked; the United States was shipping ammunition to both Russia and Great Britain; Roosevelt had placed an embargo on oil and metals against Japan; and in the most egregious example, had sent the "unofficial" *Flying Tigers* to attack the Japanese in China in 1941. All were violations of US neutrality and acts of belligerency.

Vocal critics on the Old Right — such as John T. Flynn and Harry Elmer Barnes — held that the Roosevelt administration was aware of the attack in advance, both from decoded transmissions and intelligence reports. The weight of history has ironed out the appearance of radicalism from the latter contention. Whatever the truth of the Pearl Harbor affair, an extended war with the United States was not a desire of the Japanese.

Japanese Objectives

Apologists for the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki need to consider the overall thrust of the Japanese objectives. These objectives do not square with the notion that Japan was intractably set into a policy of mortal combat with the Americans. Not that the Japanese were not willing to fight — they did so for four bloody and grueling years. Yet the oft-repeated claim that the Japanese were willing to sacrifice every last individual before ending the war is nonsense.

In reality, the Japanese were willing to end hostilities with the United States as quickly as they began. Startlingly neglected is the January 1945 offer of the Japanese government to surrender. As the eminent English jurist Frederick J. P. Veale

Gregory P. Pavlik wrote this essay as an editor for *The Freeman*, published monthly by the Foundation for Economic Education (30 S. Broadway, Irvington-on-Hudson, NY 10533). It is reprinted from the September 1995 issue. Pavlik is also editor of the 1995 work, *Forgotten Lessons: Selected Essays of John T. Flynn*.

pointed out in *Advance to Barbarism* [p. 352]:

Belatedly it has been disclosed that seven months before it [the atomic bomb] was dropped, in January 1945, President Roosevelt received via General MacArthur's headquarters an offer by the Japanese Government to surrender on terms virtually identical to those accepted by the United States after the dropping of the bomb: In July 1945, as we know, Roosevelt's successor, President Truman, discussed with Stalin at Babelsberg [Potsdam] the Japanese offer to surrender.

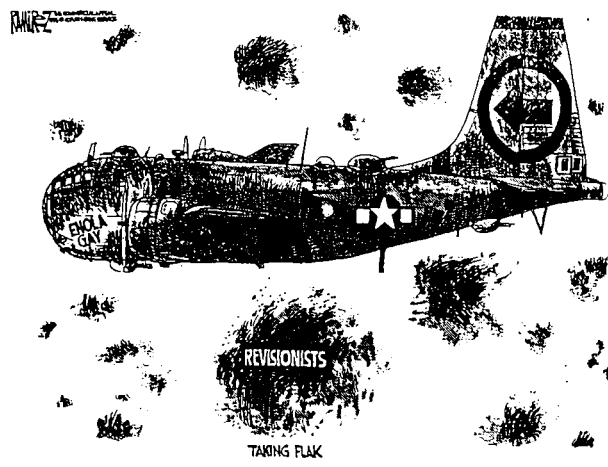
Clearly, then, the bomb did not have to be dropped to save the lives of American soldiers. The war in the Pacific could have ended prior to the European conflict. One suspects that the conflagration's extension beyond the confines of necessity had more to do with the politics of war than military strategy. The fact that consultation with Stalin played a key role in the decision tends to implicate both what historian William L. Neumann pointed to as "the historic ambitions of Russia in Asia" and "the expansionist element in Stalinist Communism."

The Japanese offer to surrender came at a time when surrender made sense. Consider the strange apology for the bombing offered by the historian Robert R. Smith, the logic of which may escape even the most alert reader:

Allied air, surface, and submarine operations had cut the home islands from all sources of raw materials. The effective and close blockade of the Allies established around the home islands would ultimately have made it impossible for the Japanese to supply their military and civilian components with even the bare essentials of life. An early surrender was inevitable, probably even without the impetus supplied by the atomic blasts. It was better for both the Allies and the Japanese the end came when it did.

Even if the Japanese had showed no signs of surrender and had remained obstinate in belligerency, the notion that the most human carnage possible must be inflicted on the civilians of an enemy government to force a surrender and minimize the losses of one's own troops is perverse. Consider the consequences of adopting a policy of total war. Logically, if you expect an enemy to pursue this strategy, you will do everything in your power to do the same before the enemy has the opportunity to annihilate you.

It's a step beyond the Cold War policy appropri-



Editorial cartoons take aim at the "revisionism" of a Smithsonian Institution exhibit on the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which was cancelled in early 1995 after veterans' groups and others protested its critical portrayal of President Truman's use of the atomic weapon.

ately referred to as Mutually Assured Destruction. These doctrines place their backers alongside such military strategists as Ghengis Khan, Attila the Hun, and the Assyrian king Tigleth Pileser who delighted in the erection of pyramids of human skulls. To adopt this justification for the bombing is to ask any putative future enemy to assume we mean to destroy him, and to alert him to the necessity of killing as many American civilians as is possible before we do the same to him.

Indeed, by this logic, the United States should have dropped nuclear weapons in the heart of Christendom to bring Germany to her knees as quickly as possible, a prospect that any civilized person must contemplate with horror. Yet, this was how many of the scientists working on the bomb, including Albert Einstein, hoped the American government would use it.

Louseous Japanicas

The first serious outbreak of this lice epidemic was officially noted on December 7, 1941, at Honolulu, T. H. To the Marine Corps, especially trained in combating this type of pestilence, was assigned the gigantic task of extermination. Extensive experiments on Guadalcanal, Tarawa, and Saipan have shown that this louse inhabits coral atolls in the South Pacific, particularly pill boxes, palm trees, caves, swamps and jungles.



Flame throwers, mortars, grenades and bayonets have proven to be an effective remedy. But before a complete cure may be effected the origin of the plague, the breeding grounds around the Tokyo area, must be completely annihilated.

Japanese are depicted as vermin, fit only for "extermination," in this item published in the US Marine Corps magazine *Leatherneck*, March 1945, the same month that the United States began low-level incendiary bombing of Japanese cities.

The Canons of Warfare

Many opponents of the use of the bomb point to the canons of civilized warfare in Europe, developed over 1,500 years. Again, Veale explains: "the fundamental principle of this code was that hostilities between civilized people must be limited to the armed forces engaged," and in his book he lists a splendid array of examples of European leaders holding to these principles, even at the price of victory.

In fact, the professional conduct of European soldiers was such that in 1814 Marshal Davout was reproached sternly and threatened with a "war crime trial" for his ugly treatment of the residents of Hamburg before his surrender — not by the Prussians, but by his own people. He was charged with having "rendered the name of Frenchman odious."

The crucial flaw in relying on the European military codes as an attack on the bombing of the Japanese is implicit in the explanation provided by Veale. By "civilized people," the European codes referred only to Europeans. That is, the rules and restrictions of civilized warfare applied only to so-

called "secondary" wars, or intra-European wars, and not to "primary" wars that involved the clash of European and non-European powers. In the latter case, the limitations on aggression against civilians literally had no bearing on the conduct of the belligerents.

A number of cases that have a special bearing on our subject come to mind. The Japanese city of Kagoshima was destroyed by the British navy under Admiral Kuper in 1863 for the sole purpose of winning trade concessions. So the rules of conduct in war only extended so far. Nor was America shy about using military aggression against the Japanese. The United States had a long history of belligerent tactics against Japan, starting with the "gunboat diplomacy" of Commodore Perry in 1854. US ships were also involved in the destruction of the city of Shimonoseki in 1864, an operation essentially directed in the interests of British imperialism.

In 1908, President Theodore Roosevelt was not above sending the United States fleet to the very shores of Japan. This type of militaristic diplomacy

formed the basis of the foreign policy of Franklin Roosevelt, who was also a committed Sinophile. Much of the administration's early naval build-ups and movements in the Pacific, starting as early as 1934, were aimed at intimidation of the Japanese. Roosevelt's policy rested on Western and US precedent.

In fact, it seems plausible at first glance to argue that by the centuries-old standards of European civilized conduct in war, the bombing of Japan was an acceptable method of battle. (Incidentally, the use of



THIS IS THE ENEMY

World War II Allied magazines, newspapers and motion pictures portrayed the Japanese as grotesque, barely human killers. Typical was this American wartime propaganda image, designed to foster hatred of the Japanese.

atomic weapons against Germany was not and could never be.) For obvious reasons, contemporary defenders of the bombing are loath to broach this defense, as it smacks of the twentieth-century heresy of racism. But there is also a caveat to this argument.

However much the doctrine of the sanctity of noncombatant life was limited in practice, there existed a long tradition in European ethics that held that the killing of noncombatants was morally offensive and wrong. Christianity, the faith of the



A British cartoonist on the Japanese soldier

How Tough Are the Japanese?

They are not tougher than other soldiers, says a veteran observer, but brutality is part of their fighting equipment.

This British portrayal of Japanese soldiers as ape-like monsters, originally from the *London Daily Mail*, was reprinted in a mid-1943 issue of the *New York Times Magazine*.

West, is a religion imbued with a limited universalism in content, derived from the belief that Christ died on the cross for all men. Hence, the moral teachings of the Christian faith regarding the sanctity of human life can reasonably be understood to have been intended to apply universally.

Saint Augustine, Huguccio, and Grotius

Saint Augustine held that taking the life of a noncombatant was murder. Even before Christianity had begun its penetration into the northern lands of Europe, fundamental teachings regarding the conduct of war were being developed. Nor did these doctrines change with the development of Catholic teaching throughout Europe and the emergence of Thomistic Scholasticism. As early as the twelfth century, Huguccio, a professor at Bologna, had revised the patristic teachings regarding natural law in his *Summa* of 1188. There he developed the notion that private property was a natural right, not subject to the interference of private persons or the state, under normal conditions.

This fundamentally libertarian teaching laid the groundwork for the ethical considerations of the rights of noncombatants in war. Indeed, the early



This cartoon, similar to many others published in wartime US newspapers and magazines, depicts the Japanese as brutish, diminutive subhumans. Originally appearing in the *Detroit News*, August 1945, it was reprinted in the *Sunday New York Times*.

twentieth-century international agreements regarding the rules of war were an outgrowth of this doctrine, based largely on the natural law analysis of the Dutch Scholastic Hugo Grotius. In fact, the work of Grotius is foundational to understanding both the Hague and Geneva Conventions.

Grotius identified four fundamental precepts of natural law, from which he developed his theory of international law. They were: (1) no person or body of persons, including the state, may legitimately initiate violence against another person or body of persons; (2) no person or body of persons may seized the property of another; (3) both persons and bodies of persons are bound by contracts or treaties that they might enter into; (4) no person or body of persons may commit a crime.

These libertarian postulates were extremely influential. Through practice and judicial development, nuances and adaptations were made in the rules of conduct. However, they were derived from Christian teachings that were meant to apply universally.

Critics of the bombing have made a strong moral case against the action. This is why the defenders of the bombing use strongly moralistic terms themselves. One of the results is possibly the most bizarre and obviously wrong.

Most veterans and defenders of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki claim that whatever the reasons for the bombing and its support, racism was not among them. This is simply not true. The US

War Department and related agencies that specialized in producing hate propaganda and lies developed specifically racist attacks on the Japanese.

Propaganda films, shown to theaters across the country, whipped Americans into war hysteria with films attacking the Japanese with their "grinning yellow faces." American movie audiences were encouraged to cheer as they watched images of the "upstart yellow dwarfs" meeting their timely ends. The government played on and encouraged prejudice and specifically racial animosity against the Japanese. To be fair, the Japanese held — and still hold — similar views of Americans, views not discouraged by their government.

The most revealing aspect of this latter point is not that racism was involved in drumming up the war spirit, but rather that the truth of the matter has been so thoroughly obscured.

Oddly enough, many apologists are conservatives, who should be the first to recognize that the essence of government is its monopoly on violence. This is a paramount consideration in their analysis of the role of the government in domestic affairs. Consistency demands that conservatives begin to apply their principles across the board — to foreign policy as well as domestic policy. The alternative is the road we now travel, and it leads to a total war and the total state.

Journal Subscription Notice

Financial, staffing and legal difficulties during the past two years have regrettably made it impossible to bring out *The Journal of Historical Review* on time. The last issue, dated March–April 1996 and marked Vol. 16, No. 2, was mailed out in October.

To deal with this problem, and put the *Journal* back on a regular schedule, this present issue, dated May–June 1997, is marked Vol. 16, No. 3. The numbering thus remains sequential, although volume 16 will span the years 1996 and 1997. Because subscriptions are based on the number of issues, and not the calendar year, no subscriber will miss a single issue he's paid for.

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IHR, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA.

Zaverdinos, Platonov and Graf Join *Journal*/Editorial Advisory Committee

We are pleased to welcome three scholars to this *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee. From South Africa, Russia and Switzerland, their membership reflects the international scope and impact of the Institute for Historical Review and its *Journal*.

Zaverdinos

Born in Johannesburg in 1938, Costas Zaverdinos currently teaches at the University of Natal in South Africa. He received a Bachelor of Science degree from Rhodes University, followed by a B.Sc. (Honors) degree in Applied Mathematics from the University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg). In 1965 he earned a M.Sc. degree from the University of Natal in Durban. During a three year period in Greece, he held a teaching post at the Athens Technical University.

Since 1970 he has been with the University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg), which awarded him a Ph.D. in mathematics in 1984 for his specialized study of "combinatorics," a field related to computer science. He is currently a senior lecturer with the University's department of Mathematics and Applied Mathematics of the Faculty of Science. He is the author of several papers in internationally recognized scholarly journals.



Dr. Costas Zaverdinos

Dr. Zaverdinos has long had a serious interest in the ancient world. In 1989 he obtained a B.A. (Honors) degree *cum laude* in ancient Greek studies, specializing in Socrates and Heraclitus. Since the late 1970s he has been keenly interested in Second World War history, and since 1986 has been an avid reader of revisionist publications.

In letters published in leading South African newspapers, he has effectively presented revisionist arguments on the Holocaust issue while ardently defending the principle of free speech and free inquiry with regard to all aspects of the Second World War. (For example, a letter by him in the *Natal Witness* was reprinted in the July-August 1992 *IHR Newsletter*.)



Dr. Oleg Platonov, right, with *Journal* editor Mark Weber, at the IHR Conference room during a March 1996 visit.

In April 1995 Zaverdinos spoke together with visiting scholar (and *Journal* contributor) Dr. Robert Countess at a meeting at the University of Natal. Prior to introducing Countess, he delivered an address entitled "Can the Standard Version of the Holocaust be Questioned?," in which he sharply criticized the media habit of dismissing Holocaust revisionists as "deniers" or castigating them as "right wing extremists." "For us to be capable of exercising our full humanity," he also said, "we must be in a position to make judgments based on dependable facts, and be able to distinguish propaganda from real history (to borrow David Irving's expression)."

The Journal of Historical Review, Dr. Zaverdinos strongly believes, should continue to emphasize solidly researched, factual scholarly historical writing. He supports Germar Rudolf's call (in the Nov.-Dec. 1994 *Journal*, p. 15) to go beyond showing what is not true about the Holocaust story, to establishing precisely what did happen to Europe's Jews in the "final solution." "In particular," he says, "the vexing question of numbers needs, in my view, a lot more exploration. Also, the extent of the very real massacres of Jews by shooting needs to be established, how this related to German security needs, and to what degree local militias participated." With regard to the emotion-laden Third Reich period, he believes that the *Journal* should strive for understanding, but not justification.

Platonov

Born in 1950, Russian historian and writer Oleg A. Platonov lives and works in Moscow. He holds a doctorate in economics, with a speciality in labor sociology. He is the author of a number of historical works, including "Russian Labor," "The Economy of Russian Civilization," "A Thousand Years of Russian



Jürgen Graf addresses the Twelfth IHR Conference, September 1994.

Entrepreneurship,” and “Russian Civilization” (widely used in Russian schools), as well as volumes on the murder of Tsar Nicholas and his family, and about Gregory Rasputin.

Dr. Platonov is a contributor to prominent Russian journals, including *Nash Sovremennik* (“Our Contemporary”) and *Molodaya Gvardiya* (“Young Guard”). Currently he is working together with a team of historians on a definitive multi-volume history of Russia in the 20th century.

Graf

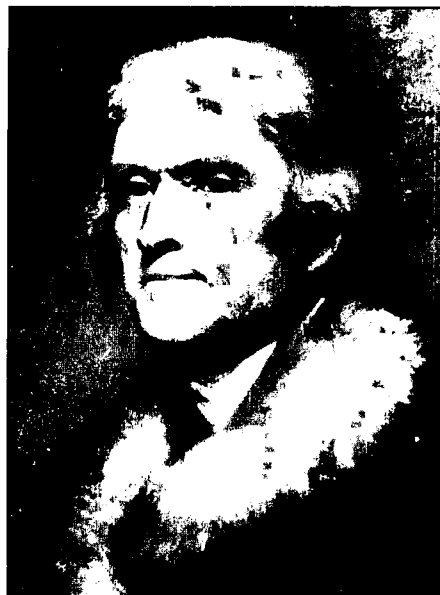
Born in 1951, Jürgen Graf is a Swiss educator who makes his home near Basel. An adaptation of his address at the Twelfth IHR Conference (Sept. 1994) appeared in the Nov.–Dec. 1995 *Journal*.

A meticulous scholar and researcher with an impressive command of languages, including Russian, modern Greek, Mandarin Chinese, and the Scandinavian languages, Graf is also the author of several books dealing with the Holocaust issue. (For further information, write Guideon Burg Verlag, Postfach 52, CH-4009 Basel, Switzerland.)

In March 1993, following the publication of his 112-page book, *Der Holocaust auf dem Prüfstand* (“The Holocaust on the Test Stand”), he was summarily dismissed from his post as a secondary school teacher of Latin and French. (See the Sept. – Oct. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 36–37, and the Nov.–Dec. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 4–5.)

Together with Italian historian Carlo Mattogno (who also addressed the 1994 IHR Conference), Graf has carried out extensive research at state archives in Russia (See the report in the Nov.–Dec. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 36–37). On the first of these visits, they were accompanied by retired California educator Russell Granata.

Guiding Principles



“[A] wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government ...

“Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations. entangling alliances with none; ... freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.”

— Thomas Jefferson, First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1801.

Internationalism vs. Nationalism in the Former Soviet Union

Capitalism in the New Russia

DANIEL W. MICHAELS

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991-1992, and the end of the centrally controlled "command economy," a new class of wealthy private capitalists with close government connections has emerged in Russia. The new ruling clique that has replaced the Soviet-era "*nomenklatura*" is widely referred to by the American-origin term "*istabishment*."

At the same time, life for most Russians has not improved. The great majority still struggles to survive, sometimes below the subsistence level. Industrial and agricultural production have fallen 50 percent in recent years, and millions are not paid their paltry salaries on time. Because most people lack hard currency to buy anything but essentials, consumer goods are generally accessible only to successful speculators, the mafia, and higher government officials. For the average Russian, and especially the elderly, life is not just impoverished, it is becoming desperate. [See: "Nationalist Sentiment Widespread, Growing in Former Soviet Union," Sept.-Oct. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 8-10.]

Russians pin much of the blame for this catastrophe on the ineffectual government of President Boris Yeltsin and his Prime Minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin. In a public statement issued last December, a group of prominent Russian intellectuals spoke out on the crisis in their homeland:

The catastrophe has run its course. The economic policy of Yeltsin's and Chernomyrdin's aides has made a small section of the former communist *nomenklatura* and of the "new Russians" unbelievably rich, plunged most of the nation's industry into paralysis, and reduced the majority of the population to poverty. As far as property ownership is concerned, the gap between the rich and poor is much deeper now than that which led to the [1917] October [Bolshevik] Revolution.

Daniel W. Michaels is a retired Defense Department analyst who lives in Washington, DC. After graduating in 1954 from Columbia University (Phi Beta Kappa), he studied in Tübingen, Germany (1957), with a Fulbright scholarship.

Corrupt Businessmen Flourish

During the Soviet era, centralized Communist Party rule ensured that economic activity, however inefficient, was at least fairly predictable, with a more or less reliable work force. Although living standards were low, this "banana republic with rockets" was stable in the way that a prison is.

Now lawlessness prevails in Russia, with business life functioning at a level similar to that of Al Capone's Chicago. There is no effective system of laws to ensure the fair and orderly operation of business, banking, finance, insurance, stock trading, and so forth, and existing laws are neither consistently nor impartially enforced. Lawlessness and excess are more often rewarded than punished, and people have little protection against fraud by the new criminal class.

Russia specialist Richard F. Staar, a Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, reports in *The Washington Times* (Nov. 27, 1996):

In his book, *Comrade Criminal*, Stephen Handelman discussed connections between the already then well-established mafia underworld and corrupt bureaucrats, a relationship that apparently now has reached into the Kremlin itself. According to former Russian Social Security Minister Ella A. Pamfilova, a cynical redistribution of property currently is taking place. In her words, "The nature of the ruling class has not changed ... It is the same old corrupt, elitist, *nomenklatura*-bureaucratic swamp."

What is changing involves the national economy, half of which already has fallen under mob control, according to Security Council Secretary Ivan Rybkin. Former Director of the CIA, Robert M. Gates estimated earlier this year that two-thirds of all commercial institutions, some 400 banks (those in Moscow already control 80 percent of the country's finances), several dozen stock exchanges, and 150 large government enterprises are controlled by the mob.

A recent Russian periodical revealed that about 40 percent of the Gross Domestic Prod-

uct is in the hands of organized crime, now merged with corrupt official and businessmen.

One prominent scandal involves a businessman named Anatoly Aronov, who is under indictment for establishing some 500 fraudulent paper corporations. By cleverly manipulating the slipshod Russian banking system, and taking full advantage of the uncontrolled market economy, the vulnerability of inexperienced Russians, and the general climate, Aronov created a phantom business empire. After establishing the paper companies as "legal entities," Aronov then sold them at great profit to unwary Russians.

The disorder of Russia's banking system has been described in a November 12, 1996, article by Rafail Kashlinksy in *Vestnik*, a Russian-language magazine published in the US. Of the more than 2,700 banks in Russia at the beginning of 1995, it reports, by the end of that year the Central Bank of Russia was obliged to revoke licenses of 225 of these, while more than 800 banks finished the year with large losses. Another 500 banks, including some of the largest (such as the Moscow Interregional Commercial Bank), were near bankruptcy by mid-1996.

Woodrow Wilson Center analyst J. Johnson, dispatched to Russia to evaluate the situation, found four main reasons for the country's banking crisis: a lack of professionally trained personnel; credit policy shortcomings; the monopolistic right of the quasi-government Sberbank to intervene in many instances as a government agent, giving it an unfair advantage in attracting clients and gaining access to useful information; and, the role of organized crime, which forces some bankers to divert time and resources to protecting themselves.

Crucial to the transition to a market economy is transferring business enterprises from state to private ownership. But this process has been ridden with abuse and corruption. Most of the oligarchs of Russia's new business elite are not self-made men. On the contrary, they were simply given control of (state-owned) oil, gas, automobile, banking and other enterprises — essentially as gifts of the Yeltsin government to whom, of course, the newly-wealthy (and often youthful) businessmen are indebted.

Through the office of 35-year-old Deputy Prime Minister Alfred Kokh, the government assigns most of the enterprises to friends or supporters of Yeltsin and his administration, who, as new corporate CEOs, show their appreciation by supporting the government with money and favorable media coverage.

In an illustrative case, the Yeltsin government transferred 80 percent ownership shares in Russia's

second largest oil company (formerly the state-owned Yukos company) to Mikhail Khodorosvsky, 33-year-old former head of the Communist Youth League and founder of the Menatep Bank. In return, Khodorosvsky turned over \$168 million to the Yeltsin administration. (*Newsweek*, March 17, 1997).

The Russian word for privatization, "*privatizatsiya*," is routinely and cynically rendered by Russians as "*prikhvatizatsiya*," meaning "grabbing," or "*piratizatsiya*," meaning "pirating."

Russia's most successful new businessmen, the so-called "Big Seven" (and their main business holdings), are: Rem Vyakhirev (Gazprom), Boris Bere-zovsky (Logovaz), Vladimir Gusinsky (Most Bank), Vaghit Alekperov (Lukoil), Alexander Smolensky (Stolichnyy Bank), Mikhail Khodorkovsky (Rosprom), and Andrey Kazmin (Sberbank).

These seven men alone, experts believe, control virtually half of the companies whose shares are rated the highest at the national stock market. Other prominent members of the new business elite include Vladimir Potanin (Onexsim Bank), Vladimir Vinogradov (Inkombank), Anatoly Dyakov (RAO EES Rossii), Yakov Dubenetsky (Promstroybank), and Petr Aven (Alpha Bank). (*Izvestia* [Moscow], Jan. 5, 1997).

It is estimated that more than \$60 billion has already found its way from Russia into Swiss banks, reports the London *Financial Times*. Of this amount, \$10 billion is believed to be mafia money. This same paper also reports (Feb. 14) that criminal groups control some 41,000 companies in Russia, half the banks and 80 percent of the joint ventures.

Conscious of the precarious foundation of the Russian economy, foreign businessmen are understandably apprehensive about investing in this treacherous environment.

To deal with the situation, some steps have been taken. Russia's Federation (national) government is attempting to introduce a Civil Code based on that of The Netherlands, while American advisors have written statutes to govern operations of joint stock companies. But because Russia's historical experience has little in common with either the Dutch or the American, it is doubtful that these administrative imports will prove very effective.

Previous Russian experience with capitalism — from the mid 19th-century to the 1917 revolution, and during the short-lived "New Economic Policy" (NEP) period (1921-1928) — is scant help in establishing a modern free market economy. While it is true that industrial development advanced rapidly in Russia in the decades immediately preceding the outbreak of the First World War (1914), it is also true that the plight of the emerging working class was often miserable — a source of unrest that con-

tributed to the revolutionary upheavals of 1905 and 1917. And the NEP experience was too brief and limited in scope to serve as a useful model. (The corruption of "Nepmen" incidentally provided abundant source material for Soviet satirists.)

Unless and until drastic changes are made, a healthy market economy cannot develop. These changes must include: a comprehensive code of business and banking law to protect investments, a credible judicial system to rigorously and impartially enforce the laws, a sweeping purge of corrupt police personnel, a country-wide crackdown on crime and corruption, and a stable monetary policy.

What is particularly tragic about Russia's economic calamity is that this vast land has such potential. In addition to a generally capable and well-trained managerial and working population, Russia is rich in natural resources, including oil, iron ore, gold and timber. Properly administered, this could be a very prosperous country.

Political Corruption

Without honest and effective political leadership, though, prosperity for the great majority will remain an elusive hope. Given its record so far, the government of President Boris Yeltsin can hardly be expected to provide the needed guidance and direction.

During last year's election Russian banks directed substantial resources to favored political candidates. While some backed the national-patriotic and Communist candidates, those who supported Yeltsin were rewarded. Thus, when Yeltsin formed his new post-election administration he appointed Vladimir Potanin, the 35-year-old president and co-founder of the country's biggest private bank, Onexim Bank, as first vice premier for economics.

Because Yeltsin owes his July 1996 reelection victory in large measure to the financial and media support of Russia's new plutocrats, his government is widely disdained as an instrument of alien interests. Although many former Communist Party officials (including Yeltsin himself), as well as former KGB functionaries, continue to occupy high-level positions in Russia, the Yeltsin administration is widely regarded as an American-controlled and -directed "internationalist" regime. Yeltsin's chief of staff and primary economic advisor, Anatoly Chubais (age 41), is viewed as a US stooge at best, and a CIA agent at worst.

Opposing Yeltsin and his adherents is a diverse array of nationalists: national communists, national socialists, and national capitalists. In general, they call for a healthy, nationally-conscious Russian folk capable of defending and restoring the nation's dangerously dissipated ethnic and cultural character.

[See: E. Zündel, "My Impressions of the New Russia," Sept.-Oct. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 2-8.]

Easily the most popular political figure in Russia today is General Aleksandr Lebed, a decorated Afghan war hero and the broker of peace in Chechnya. Even his critics concede his basic honesty. "Ordinary Russians are as far from the real levers of power today as they were during Soviet Communist Party rule," says Lebed. Half the nation's economy, he adds, is controlled by "a small group of banks and financial-industrial groups, while the other half is controlled by criminal clans."

To protect their own corrupt business empires, the new plutocrats around Yeltsin will predictably do everything in their power to keep Lebed, or any authentically Russian figure, regardless of popularity, from taking power.

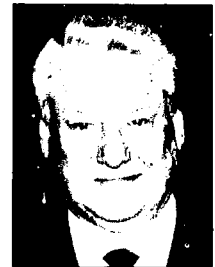
Not surprisingly, Lebed complains that he now has become invisible in the pages and programs controlled by the major media barons. In addition, no major bank will help finance him for fear of Kremlin retribution. (*Newsweek*, March 17, 1997.)

Prime Minister Chernomyrdin and Communist Party leader Gennady Zyuganov reportedly (*Washington Times*, Feb. 8) have discussed forming a political alliance to keep Lebed out of power if Yeltsin dies in office. Chernomyrdin and some of his backers, among them Moscow's major bankers, are said to fear possible arrest as part of a nationwide campaign against corruption demanded by Lebed. (Chernomyrdin and Zyuganov have been personal friends since they served together six years ago on the Central Committee of the former Soviet Communist Party.)

To deal with the growing nationalist sentiment, authorities in Moscow are considering steps to crack down on its most extreme manifestations. Moscow's Municipal Duma is considering a measure that prohibits the display or political use of symbols associated with Third Reich on the grounds that they disrupt the general order, incite to violence in a multinational society, and foster political extremism. Also forbidden would be the wearing of uniforms, displaying swastikas, and the use of the Roman (Hitler) salute as a greeting.

Zionist Kingmaker Berezovsky

Personifying Russia's new ruling class is Boris Abramovich Berezovsky, a Jewish business magnate, media mogul, and high-ranking government official whom *US News & World Report* calls (Jan. 13, 1997) "the most influential new capitalist tycoon



Boris Yeltsin

in Russia.” His business empire includes a bank, one of the few national television channels, oil concerns and automobile dealerships. (*Forward* [New York], Nov. 22, 1996.) After taking advantage of high-level political connections to quickly amass enormous wealth, Berezovsky provided large sums and favorable media coverage to insure the re-election of President Yeltsin, who then appointed him to the country’s national Security Council.



Boris Berezovsky

An important step in Berezovsky’s ambitious upward climb was his acquisition of Sibneft, Russia’s sixth-largest oil company. He gained this immensely important asset not through honest business practices or competitive bidding, but as a gift of the State Committee for the Management of State Property. Committee head Kokh simply appointed Berezovsky to take over Sibneft, and President

Yeltsin signed the papers to approve the transfer. (*Komsomolskaya Pravda* [Moscow], Jan. 25).

Contributing to his image as the stereotypical international capitalist, Berezovsky ostentatiously roars around Moscow in a dark-blue bulletproof Mercedes 600, protected by a BMW in front, and bodyguards in Mitsubishi jeeps on either side. His private security staff numbers 150, including 20 former KGB technical surveillance specialists.

In the view of the country’s “democratic reformers,” the *US News & World* article continues, “Berezovsky and his ilk” have “exploited for personal gain wrongheaded economic reforms that were impoverishing the average man.” Berezovsky

has proved that building wealth in the new Russia has much to do with government cronies smoothing the way and little to do with free competition ... Most disturbing of all to Russian reformers is the impunity with which Berezovsky has operated. His road to capitalism would have landed him in jail in most civilized countries, but brought no criminal charges in the new Russia.

Berezovsky, reports the New York Jewish weekly *Forward* (April 4, 1997), is “among those fabulously wealthy and hugely resented new Russian industrialists — robber barons accused of milking Russia dry — who bankrolled Mr. Yeltsin’s presidential

campaign, buying the keys to the state.” Berezovsky has publicly boasted that he and six other top businessmen — some of them Jewish — control 50 percent of the Russian economy.

Not long ago Berezovsky bragged to the London *Financial Times*: “We hired [First Deputy Prime Minister] Chubais. We invested huge sums of money. We guaranteed Yeltsin’s election. Now we have the right to occupy government posts and use the fruits of our victory.” (Quoted in *Forward*, April 4, 1997)

An article in a December issue of the American business magazine *Forbes* accuses Berezovsky of running a criminally corrupt business organization. Headlined “Godfather of the Kremlin?,” the article concludes “It sure looks that way.”

A major scandal erupted in late 1996, following Yeltsin’s appointment of Berezovsky as deputy chief of Russia’s national Security Council (akin to the US National Security Council), when it was revealed that he had acquired Israeli citizenship three years earlier.

Responding to those who questioned the propriety of a wealthy businessman with foreign citizenship holding a highly sensitive security post, “Berezovsky and a number of television and newspapers journalists in his employ responded with racial demagoguery, accusing his critics of anti-Semitism.” Berezovsky “met with the editors of *Izvestia* for a series of interviews in which he mixed charges of anti-Semitism with thinly veiled threats of violence.” (*Forward*, Nov. 22, 1996) He has even brazenly insisted that Yeltsin has a moral and material obligation to Jewish business in Russia. (*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, Nov. 5, 1996).

“Every Jew, regardless of where he is born or lives, is *de facto* a citizen of Israel,” Berezovsky declared in a candid response to his critics. “The fact that I have annulled my Israeli citizenship today in no way changes the fact that I am a Jew and can again become a citizen of Israel whenever I choose. Let there be no illusions about it, ‘every Jew in Russia is a dual citizen.’” (*Segodnya* [“Today”], Nov. 14, 1996).

The Security Committee of Russia’s parliament (the Duma) has appealed to Yeltsin to remove Berezovsky from his sensitive Security Council position on the grounds that his dual Israeli-Russian citizenship legally disqualifies him from occupying the post. According to the Russian Federation’s Citizenship Law, he could legally occupy this post only on the basis of a specific agreement between Russia and Israel. No such agreement exists. Moreover, the Duma committee contends, Berezovsky is further disqualified because he has failed to sever his business connections after accepting the position. Finally, before he could be given legal access to clas-

sified information, the Federal Security Service would have to investigate and clear him. (*Segodnya* [Moscow], Feb. 19)

With good reason, the well-informed Jewish weekly *Forward* (Nov. 22) has expressed concern that Berezovsky's illicit business activities and his arrogant public statements, as well as President Yeltsin's indulgence of him, may aggravate anti-Jewish sentiment and thereby jeopardize the future of all of Russia's Jews:

Given that many of the moguls who backed Mr. Yeltsin's [reelection] campaign, including Mr. Berezovsky, are Jews, it seemed he was tempting, if not openly inviting, anti-Semitic conspiracy theories ... Yeltsin's failure to fire Berezovsky really puts the future of democracy in Russia, and the bizarre situation of the Jews there, in even sharper focus.

Vladimir Gusinsky

Nearly as rich and as influential as Berezovsky is Vladimir Gusinsky, another immensely wealthy Jewish banker and media magnate who played a key role in reelecting Yeltsin. (*Forward*, April 4, 1997) An outspoken advocate of Jewish interests, Gusinsky is a close ally of presidential chief of staff, Chubais. According to a *Wall Street Journal* report, he has ties to organized crime.

After a meteoric career building Most Bank, Gusinsky now devotes his energies to Media-Most, a new media holding company that includes the important NTV television network; a slick television weekly, "7 Days"; a popular radio station, "Echo of Moscow"; and a weekly news magazine, *Itogi*, which is published in partnership with *Newsweek* (owned by the *Washington Post* company); NTV-Plus satellite television network; and a 100,000-circulation daily newspaper, *Sevodnya*. (*The Washington Post*, March 31, 1997). He also has close connections with international media tycoon Rupert Murdoch.

When Prime Minister Chernomyrdin arrived in Washington, DC, in early February for a meeting with President Clinton, the 44-year-old Gusinsky accompanied him. On the day of their arrival, author/journalist Georgie Anne Geyer wrote (*Washington Times*, Feb. 6):

On the surface Gusinsky is chairman of the powerful Most Bank and the "independent" Moscow TV ... His bank was on the CIA's recent list of banks with Russian mafia connections. In 1994, Most Bank was the scene of a bitter shootout with Mr. Yeltsin's then-favorite KGB General Aleksander Korzhakov after which Mr. Gusinsky and his family temporarily exiled themselves to London. Most Bank is also

known as a veritable den of former KGB men, and not KGB men from the professional intelligence sections, but from the notorious "Fifth Chief Directorate."

Mr. Gusinsky now has a new role to play. He has had himself named head of the Russian Jewish Congress, and the suspicion is widespread that he will use his growing contacts with the American Jewish community to cry "Discrimination!" whenever anyone dares to criticize his business methods ... We need to recognize what a delicate and dangerous moment this is in Russia when President Yeltsin's life hangs in the balance, and men like Mr. Berezovsky and Mr. Gusinsky are readying to fill the vacuum that will surely open soon. They have talked publicly about using "constitutional means" when the time comes to insure an appointed president rather than new elections (in particular to avoid a victory of the honest General Aleksandr Lebed).

Crucial Jewish Role

No one can really understand Russia's tumultuous social, political and economic situation, with its complex contending forces, without an awareness of the role of Jews, both in the past and today, and the popular attitude toward them.

During the Soviet era, Jews played a prominent, perhaps dominant, role in the ruling Communist Party and in economic, cultural and academic life. [See: M. Weber, "The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and the Early Soviet Regime," Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 4-14.] Today Jews hold conspicuous positions of great wealth and authority. Although they make up perhaps three percent of the total population, Jews wield power vastly disproportionate to their numbers. As the *London Times* noted recently (Jan. 27, 1997):

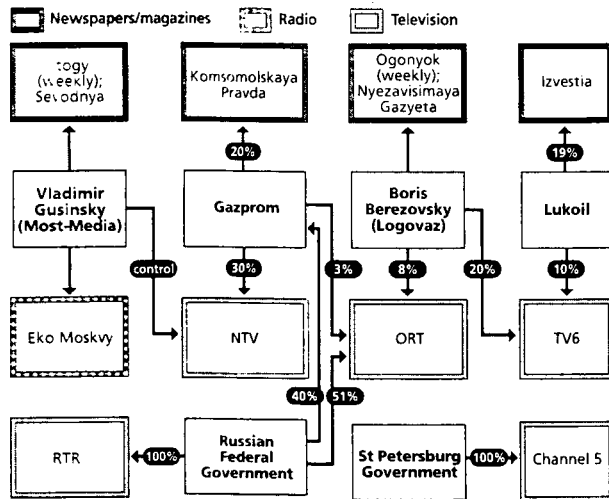
Prominent Jewish figures today enjoy unprecedented positions of power in politics, the media and the private sector, and have emerged as some of Russia's most creative and talented minds. Boris Berezovsky, the most influential Russian Jew, who holds the post of deputy head of the Security Council as well as controlling a small business empire, even boasted recently that the country was run by seven key bankers, most of them Jewish.

Although anti-Semitism is still a powerful undercurrent in Russian society, and could resurface in the event of a nationalist leader coming to power, for the moment anti-Jewish sentiment is rarely voiced openly.

Besides such business figures as Berezovsky and

Who owns what

The media in Russia



Sources: Russian media reports; Russian Market Research Company

This chart from the London *Economist* (Feb. 25, 1997) shows the close ties linking business, media and government in Russia. The Russian federal government, for example, controls 100% of RTR television, 40% of the country's gas monopoly company, and 51% of ORT television, while the St. Petersburg city government controls 100% of Channel 5 television. Jewish businessman Boris Berezovsky controls Logovaz, the country's most prestigious automobile manufacturer, and has partial control of ORT and TV6 television, as well as the newspaper *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* and the weekly magazine *Ogonyok*. Another Jewish businessman, Vladimir Gusinsky, controls NTV television, *Sevodnya* newspaper, and the weekly news magazine *Itoyi*.

Gusinsky, a recent *Forward* article (April 4, 1997) cites such high-ranking Jewish government officials as: Boris Nemstov, first deputy prime minister in charge of social welfare, housing reform and restructuring of government monopolies; Yakov Urinson, deputy prime minister for economic affairs; and, Aleksandr Livshits, deputy head of Yeltsin's administration.

Anti-Semitism was strictly illegal during the Soviet era. Today anti-Jewish sentiment is not only widespread, it is openly and sometimes forcefully expressed, in spite of Yeltsin government disapproval. Russian newspapers frequently and often emotionally discuss their country's national-ethnic questions, the re-awakening Russian nationalism, and the role of Jews in society, in terms of an ongoing struggle between nationalism and internationalism. "Isn't it a pity that anti-Semitism is flourishing in Russia today like 'chrysanthemums in a garden,'" the frankly nationalist paper *Zavtra*

("Tomorrow") sarcastically comments (No. 47, Nov 1996).

Even Gennady Zyuganov, leader of the reconstituted Communist Party (currently the main opposition political force), has written in his book, *I Believe in Russia*:

The ideology, culture and world outlook of the Western world became more and more influenced by the Jews scattered around the world. Jewish influence grew not by the day, but by the hour.

Reflecting the widespread bitterness of many Russians is a front-page article in *Zavtra* (Nov. 1996, No. 48), which charges that a group of "13 banker apostles" has gained control of the country. It went on to warn readers: "... The Constitution has been one-third torn to pieces right under your nose in the last five years, and from this day on you will live under the jurisdiction of the Jewish bankers whose wallets protect the thugs of [television stations] ORT and NTV."

Informed Russians are quite aware of America's special relationship with Israel, with the Jewish lobby's mighty influence in the United States, with the preferential treatment given by the US immigration agency (INS) to Jewish immigrants, and with the zealous US concern for Jewish welfare in general. Accordingly, Russian nationalists tend to view Jewish capitalists in their country as quasi-agents of the United States.

Concerned about a possible backlash, many Russian Jews, reports the Moscow correspondent of the *Forward* (April 4, 1997), now say that "there are too many Jews in government. There are too many Jewish bankers running the country." Jews fear that with such a conspicuous profile they will be viewed as a group that has grown wealthy through dishonest practices at the expense of the productive working people, and that Russians will blame them for humiliating and ruining the nation. Anyway, a prominent Jewish community leader notes, "people here have quite bitter memories of the participation of Jews in the [Bolshevik] revolution." (*Forward*, April 4, 1997)

Writing in *Zavtra* (No. 43, Oct. 1996), analyst Aleksandr Sevastyanov describes the contrasting attitudes of Russians and Jews with regard to Russia's future:

There are many Jews in the country who preach the idea of a new Russian empire for the simple reason that for them Russian imperialism is a synonym for internationalism under new circumstances. Not having succeeded in its time with the Comintern [the Soviet- con-

trolled Communist International], they now say “let’s try an empire.” Their ideal is a flourishing multinational Russia, where the Russians themselves are not really the rulers.

For us nationalists, this kind of Russia is pure nonsense — not worth our time or our support. Every normal Russian believes in his heart, and rightly so: “We have created this state and we shall rule it.” On the other hand, every typical Jew thinks to himself: “Yes, you Russians created the state, but we Jews shall rule it because we are the elite of the Russian nation, the natural claimants to the role of an imperial people. And we shall do so because we are the richest, the most united, the best educated, and the most cultured. If we do not rule Russia, then who?”

And, alas, today we Russians are not yet in a position even to pretend to an imperial role. The Soviet empire collapsed because the Russian people lost the ability to preserve or prevent the collapse of the great nation they had been built up over the centuries. To attempt to recapture its former ruling role, without first recapturing the ethnic strength that made it possible, would be suicidal. Solzhenitsyn is again right when he says: “Any attempt to restore the empire today would be tantamount to burying the Russian people.” We must first concentrate on solving the problems that have weakened us as a people. They are, first and foremost, demographic, and only secondarily economic, social, military, cultural, and the rest. We must reject all other activities that do not focus on the revitalization of our people. We cannot permit ourselves to be diverted from our absolutely essential goal, which is ethno-egocentric — not even by the ephemeral lure of empire building.

A Time of Ominous Transition

Still emerging from seven decades of Soviet rule, Russians are groping toward a new sense of national identity. Not yet having come to grips with its past, this is a land of historical paradox. Thus, Lenin’s embalmed corpse is still enshrined in a monumental sarcophagus on Moscow’s Red Square, and not a single former Communist official has been brought to trial for Soviet-era crimes.

As Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has observed, Russia today is neither an authentic political democracy nor a genuine free market economy. While an ambitious few amass vast fortunes and great power through illicit deals, the country’s productive workers, children and elderly suffer. A small oligarchy rules over a population that lives in near destitution. “Democracy in the true sense of the word does

not exist in Russia,” writes Solzhenitsyn. He continues:

There exists no legal framework or financial means for the creation of local self-government. People will have no choice but to achieve it through social struggle ... This system of centralized power cannot be called a democracy ... The fate of the country is now decided by a stable oligarchy of 150-200 people, which includes the nimbler members of the old Communist system’s top and middle ranks, plus the *nouveaux riches* ... Our present ruling circles have not shown themselves in the least morally superior to the Communists who preceded them ... Russia is being exhausted by crime, not a single serious crime has been exposed, nor has there been a single public trial ... This destructive course of events over the last decade has come about because the government, while ineptly imitating foreign models, has completely disregarded the country’s innate creativity and singular character as well as Russia’s centuries-old spiritual and social traditions.

For the historically minded observer, the parallels between Russia today and Germany during the pre-Hitler Weimar republic years are striking and portentous. In each case, there has been severe economic, political and social upheaval, monetary chaos, substantial loss of territory, and humiliating subordination to foreign powers following the abrupt collapse of an seemingly entrenched political regime. Unscrupulous individuals, many of them members of an alien ethnic minority, have exploited their foreign connections and the prevailing disorder to quickly enrich themselves at the expense of the common people. Major media and financial institutions are largely in the hands of people with no national loyalty. In each case, the social dislocation has come with a drastic fall in cultural and moral standards.

Much of the talk in the United States about democracy in Russia is as ridiculous today as it has always been. *Plus ça change, plus c’est la même chose*. Throughout its history, Russia has been ruled by an elite, entrenched in Moscow and St. Petersburg, often of non-Russian origin and fascinated by Western philosophies.

As a potentially wealthy country with a proud and illustrious past, it is difficult to imagine that Russians will permit the current miserable and humiliating situation to continue indefinitely. At the same time, it’s hard to see how Russia’s problems can be mastered without very drastic change.

Is Revisionism a Threat to National Security?

Defense Department Booklet Targets Holocaust Revisionism

American military service personnel are now being told that skepticism toward the official history of Europe's Jews during World War II is not permissible. A recently published Department of Defense booklet tells armed forces members that revisionist criticism of the Six Million extermination story is nothing less than a threat to national security.

Entitled *Holocaust Revisionism*, the booklet instructs military personnel: "A successful fighting force is a cohesive one, one where all members have respect for each other's diversity and dignity. Holocaust revisionism has the potential to destroy that respect."

It goes on to explain:

One of the most important missions that commanders have is the mission to "Protect the Force." Part of that protection requires that we be aware of movements that might weaken the effectiveness of our fighting forces ... Holocaust revisionism is a real force, such as racism, hatred, or discrimination, that must be dealt with. Not to deal with it is not to give our members in uniform the support that they need to defend this Nation.

Promoting 'Diversity'

The 20-page booklet was published in June 1996 by the "Research Directorate" of the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) in Florida, a Defense Department branch that promotes and oversees racial preference ("affirmative action") programs, and trains (indoctrinates) military personnel in "diversity" and "equal employment opportunity."

With the seal of the US Department of Defense on the front cover, this "resource and educational" booklet is printed by the US Government Printing Office. (Although it announces that "local reproduction is authorized and encouraged," general distribution has been inexplicably delayed.) The booklet's author, Captain Carlos C. Huerta, is an orthodox Jewish rabbi who has served as a US Army chaplain at Fort Sill in Oklahoma. Born and raised in Brook-

lyn, New York, Huerta has also lived for years in Israel, where he taught at a Jewish school in Jerusalem.

Smears Instead of Refutation

Typical of anti-revisionist writings, this booklet makes no effort to fairly present revisionist arguments, much less to contend with revisionist scholarship. As Huerta explains in the introduction: "We will not refute revisionism here but merely report its many activities. Refuting revisionism is similar to refuting racism, *raisa ipso locutor*, the thing speaks for itself."

Rather than refute, Huerta disparages, distorts and twists. In the booklet's opening sentence, he brusquely slurs the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), a leading revisionist publishing and research center, as a "pseudo-historical society" whose "main operational concept ... [is] the misrepresentation of historical truths by those with a hidden agenda." He also calls the IHR "one of the biggest disseminators of revisionist and racist literature in the country." Without a shred of evidence, he asserts that "some European revisionists seek to hurt what they perceive as non-Aryan Europeans, and hate anything that is not a mirror image of themselves."

Huerta claims that the person who is "interested in Holocaust revisionism often is also interested in purchasing books on hate and racism." To support this false and irrelevant contention, he lists nine titles, some of them distributed by the IHR and some by Noontide Press (a distinctly separate publishing imprint), with brief and grotesquely misleading descriptions of each. These include: Arthur Butz' *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* ("Argues that Auschwitz was just a rubber factory for the Nazi war effort"); Thies Christophersen's *Auschwitz: Truth or Lie — An Eyewitness Report*; *America: Free, White & Christian* ("An argument showing that America should be a White Christian nation"); *The Testing of Negro Intelligence* ("Argues that African-Americans are less intelligent than White Americans"); *Resettlement* ("Argues for the resettlement of African-Americans"); and, *The Martin Luther King Plagiarism Story* ("Argues that Dr.

King's educational credentials are phony").

While attempting to smear revisionists as "haters" or "racists," rabbi Huerta makes no mention of the numerous hate crimes against revisionists. Professor Robert Faurisson, Europe's most prominent revisionist scholar, has been the victim of ten physical attacks by Jewish thugs, including a nearly fatal beating on September 16, 1989. In southern California, arsonists torched the IHR offices and warehouse on July 4, 1984, culminating months of vandalism, hate mail, threatening telephone calls and other harassment. (For more on all this, see the IHR booklet, *The Zionist Terror Network*, and "Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years, and More, of Terrorism in France," in the March-April 1996 *Journal*, pp. 2-13.)

Pernicious Nonsense

This booklet's author must have realized the difficulty of convincing non-Jewish readers that Holocaust revisionism really endangers America's military effectiveness. But rabbi Huerta takes a stab at it:

The question arises, why should we [?] be aware of or care about Holocaust revisionism? As a service member or Commander, how does this impact my mission. Holocaust revisionism does not operate in an isolated or sterile environment. Often the same groups that believe in revisionism believe in racism or the overthrow of the government; however, this is not to say that all revisionists are racist or anti-government, but it appears [?] more so than not. This movement has grown so much in the last decade that more and more Americans are being exposed to its message through the printed word, radio, TV and now the Internet.

This officially-sanctioned attempt to smear revisionism by associating it with "racism" and sedition is a vile slander. Holocaust revisionism is the polar opposite of bigotry, and has nothing to do with "hatred." Predictably, not a shred of evidence is offered to show, specifically, how revisionism threatens "respect" for the "diversity and dignity" of any member of the US armed forces.

In essence, this booklet is an arrogant effort to persuade non-Jewish Americans to regard parochial Jewish-Zionist concerns as their own. That such pernicious nonsense is published with official sanction makes it all the more reprehensible.

If this booklet's author is as sincerely concerned as he pretends to be about "racism, hatred, or discrimination," his time and effort might better be spent instructing fellow Jews in Israel, where Christians and Muslims are routinely treated as

HOLOCAUST REVISIONISM

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DEFENSE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY MANAGEMENT INSTITUTE
740 O'Malley Road
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DFOMI Special Projects Series Pamphlet 96-2

This new Defense Department booklet tells military personnel that skepticism toward the official history of Europe's Jews during World War II is impermissible, and that revisionist criticism of the Six Million extermination story is a potential threat to America's national security.

second class citizens, and whose official ideology, Zionism, has been condemned by the United Nations General Assembly as a form of racism.

Attitudes that threaten "diversity and dignity" are far more widespread in Israel than in the United States. According to an authoritative 1994 survey of 3,700 Jewish and Arab high school students, for example, more than 35 percent of young Israelis say they hate Arabs. Two-thirds of the youths surveyed said they do not believe that Arabs should given equal rights in Israel. (JTA dispatch, *Forward* [New York], Nov. 29, 1996, p. 3; *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, March 1997, p. 47.)

At a time when the US military must grapple with such pressing problems as racial friction, drug use, sexual harassment and even illiteracy, this government-sanctioned attack against Holocaust revisionism is a waste of time and taxpayer's money, and is further evidence of skewed societal and government priorities.

For savvy readers, the one message of this book-

let that does come through loud and clear is this: "Holocaust revisionism is a career buster. Don't get involved with it." Beyond that, though, it is doubtful that many in the military will take this booklet very seriously, much less find its arguments convincing. Such government-mandated activities to promote "diversity" are widely, if quietly, dismissed as a waste of time.

Earlier Warnings

This Defense Department booklet is not rabbi Huerta's first effort at sounding the alarm about revisionism. In an article published in the New York Jewish monthly *Midstream* (April 1992), for example, he warned that "the traditional method of dealing with Holocaust revisionism by ignoring it will no longer suffice."

He expressed a similar concern in the Sept.-Oct. 1991 issue of *Martyrdom and Resistance* (published in New York by the International Society for Yad Vashem). In his article, "Holocaust Revisionism in the Classroom," Huerta conceded that revisionist arguments are not easily dismissed:

Perhaps ten years ago, surely twenty years ago, one could justifiably argue that there was no need to teach Holocaust revisionism in Holocaust courses, as revisionism was nothing more than a smattering of articles by unknown and scattered people. The story today is quite different. Revisionism is now a world-wide phenomenon spreading across Europe, the Americas, the Middle East, and some parts of Asia. It is becoming increasingly organized, sophisticated, and well financed.

To deal with this challenge, Huerta continued, Jewish students

should be taught who the Holocaust revisionists are, their methods, and their literature. I would go so far as to say that all Jewish high schools and colleges should have copies of such literature at their disposal.

Admittedly there's a danger here. As Huerta goes on to note, non-Jews might evaluate revisionist writings on their own, "without official Jewish approval":

One can argue, and justifiably so, that teaching Holocaust revisionism in Jewish high schools and colleges is an open invitation for similar institutions in the non-Jewish sector to teach the topic. The fear here is that they will not teach it with an eye to supporting the Holocaust, but rather to denying it. The fact of the

matter is that schools are already teaching Holocaust revisionism — without official Jewish approval.

Grudging Homage

Although *Holocaust Revisionism* is a polemical work of propaganda, and contains numerous factual errors, it's not as strident, vicious or error-ridden as the anti-revisionist materials put out by such major Jewish-Zionist groups as the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and the Simon Wiesenthal Center. For one thing, it avoids the term "Holocaust denial," and indicates that this widely used but pejorative label (preferred by the ADL and Jewish academic Deborah Lipstadt) is not accurate.

In this regard, the booklet quotes *Journal of Historical Review* editor Mark Weber, who explains just what Holocaust revisionists say, and do not say:

They [revisionists] do not dispute the fact that large numbers of Jews were deported to concentration camps and ghettos, or that many Jews died or were killed during the Second World War. Revisionist scholars have, however, presented considerable evidence to show that there was no German program to exterminate Europe's Jews, that numerous claims of mass killings in "gas chambers" are false, and that the estimate of six million Jewish wartime dead is an irresponsible exaggeration.

"In short," Huerta comments, "revisionists do not deny the Holocaust, they just want to redefine it."

Unlike other, more polemical attacks, Huerta acknowledges that revisionist arguments cannot simply be dismissed: "One thing should be made clear. If everything Holocaust revisionists wrote or said were clearly wrong, then their following would be limited to a few quacks or crazies ... To say that everything revisionists propound is false is an invitation for mistake." So perhaps the thing doesn't speak for itself, after all.

This booklet also succinctly traces the origins and development of scholarly Holocaust revisionism, noting that the phenomenon is rooted in the honorable tradition of historical revisionism, a discipline that encompasses much more than the Holocaust issue. It takes a look at the work and impact of important Holocaust revisionist scholars, researchers and activists. "To understand the motivation and psyche of the revisionists, and therefore understand their effect, and on whom," it explains, "we present some of the key players in this macabre revision of history and look at some of their 'important' contributions." This section begins with a page and a half treatment of the "Father of Holocaust

Revisionism," Paul Rassinier — the French educator and *Resistance* activist who was interned during the war in the German concentration camps of Buchenwald and Dora. Also dealt with are the roles of Arthur Butz, Robert Faurisson, Fred Leuchter, Ernst Zündel, Bradley Smith, Carlo Mattogno and Wilhelm Stäglich.

Surprisingly respectful is Huerta's treatment of Fred Leuchter, the American execution hardware specialist who conducted an on-site forensic examination in early 1988 of the alleged mass killing facilities at Auschwitz and Birkenau. At the Toronto "Holocaust trial" of German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel, Leuchter testified that these sites were not and could not have been used as homicidal gas chambers. (For more about Leuchter and his findings, see the Winter 1992-93 *Journal*.)

Unlike most critics of revisionism, Huerta acknowledges Leuchter's competence and expertise. He writes that Leuchter was "a consultant to many states on gassing, lethal injection, hanging and electrocution execution hardware," and notes that when the Zündel defense team contacted US prison officials to ask who they would recommend as an expert in execution equipment, "one name kept coming up: Fred A. Leuchter."

The members of the Editorial Advisory Committee of the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*, along with each one's academic credentials, are listed in "Appendix D." Introducing it is a warning: "Just picking up the [IHR] journal and looking at this listing, the uninitiated reader could come away thinking that the journal must be a mainstream academic publication, and as a consequence, the articles and the opinions must be legitimate and factual." Several of the most important revisionist Internet Web site (home page) addresses, including those of Greg Raven (IHR) and Arthur Butz, are provided in "Appendix A."

Growing Impact

With each passing year, Americans are called upon with ever greater urgency to "never forget" the European Jews who perished during World War II, and to "learn the lessons" of their fate. Numerous federal government agencies — led by the United States Holocaust Memorial Council — along with many US Senators and Congressmen, and state and city governments across the country, now routinely participate in annual Holocaust remembrance commemorations. "Holocaust education" is required in ever more American high schools.

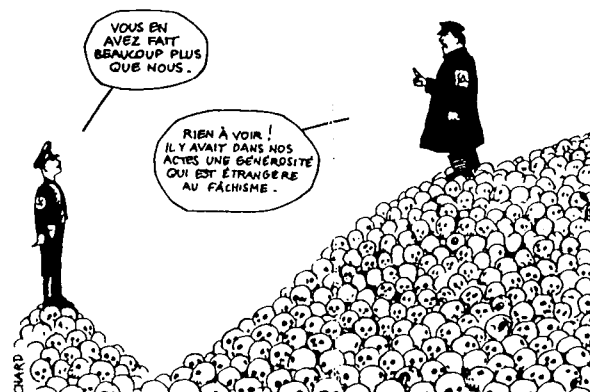
Even the military has joined in. The Secretary of Defense has repeatedly urged all military personnel to participate in annual Holocaust "commemorative observances," and a *Days of Remembrance* Defense Department booklet even suggests Holocaust com-

memorative liturgies for the armed forces. (See the Sept.-Oct. 1995 *Journal*, p. 13).

In this environment there's reason to welcome rabbi Huerta's new Defense Department booklet. It is not only further evidence of the growing impact of Holocaust revisionism, as bad as it is, it may actually help to promote the very open-mindedness and healthy skepticism toward "official" history that it seeks to curtail.

Not all US military servicemen are simple-minded conformists. Especially in the officer corps, there are still many intelligent men and women who can think for themselves.

This booklet may introduce Holocaust revisionism to many who otherwise might never hear of it, encouraging some to consider, even if only briefly, an alternative view of this important chapter of history.



"You did much more of them than we did." "Nothing to compare! In our actions there was a generosity that is foreign to fascism." This cartoon from the French periodical *Présent* (Nov. 4, 1995), comparing the victims of National Socialism and the victims of Communism, points up a prevailing double standard regarding 20th century history.

Thanks

We've stirred up things a lot since the first issue of the *Journal of Historical Review* came out in the spring of 1980 — 17 years ago. Without the staunch support of you, our subscribers, it couldn't have survived. So please keep sending those clippings, the helpful and critical comments on our work, the informative articles, and the extra boost over and above the subscription price. It's our life blood. To everyone who has helped keep this *Journal* alive, our sincerest thanks.

Thies Christophersen

Thies Christophersen — pioneer revisionist writer and courageous fighter for truth in history — died February 13, 1997, at Molfsee, Kiel, in north Germany. He was 79.

In a memoir first published in Germany in 1973, he related his wartime experiences as a German army officer in the Auschwitz camp complex. “During the time I was in Auschwitz, I did not notice the slightest evidence of mass gassings,” he wrote in *Die Auschwitz-Lüge* (“The Auschwitz Lie”). As one of the first important works squarely to confront the Auschwitz extermination legend, Christophersen’s first-hand account was a major factor in the growth and development of Holocaust revisionism.

“The Auschwitz Lie” caused an immediate sensation in Germany, where it was soon banned. This did not stop publication of German-language editions in Switzerland and Denmark, however, and before long editions appeared in all the major European languages, including several in English. Christophersen predictably came under hostile and mendacious media attack. Numerous newspaper reports, for example, inaccurately referred to him as a former “SS officer.”

Wartime Experiences

Born in 1918, Christophersen worked as a farmer in Schleswig, northern Germany, until the outbreak of war in Europe. Called to military service, he was badly wounded in 1940 while serving in the western campaign. After recuperating and undergoing some specialized agricultural training,



Thies Christophersen, 1918-1997

he was assigned to a research center in German-occupied Ukraine which experimentally cultivated a variety of dandelion (*kok saghyz*) as an alternative source of natural rubber, to be produced from the plant’s latex.

In the face of Soviet military advances, and the withdrawal of German forces from Ukraine, the center was transferred to the labor camp of Raisko, a satellite of Auschwitz. During the period he lived and worked there — January to December 1944 — Christophersen was responsible for the daily work of inmate laborers. The young second lieutenant supervised about 300 workers, many of them Jewish, of whom 200 were women from the Raisko camp, and 100 were men from the nearby Auschwitz-Birkenau camp. On a number of occasions he visited Birkenau where, it is alleged, hundreds of thousands of Jews were systematically gassed to death in May-July 1944. Although he knew of Birkenau’s crematories, it wasn’t until after the war that he first heard anything of “gas chamber” killings or mass exterminations.

A Prolific Writer

After the war he returned to farming. A *ardent* and life-long defender of the interests of German farmers, he also turned his considerable talents as a writer to this cause. For years he edited and published the quarterly magazine *Die Bauernschaft* (“The Farming Community”), which served as a forum for his straight-forward reporting and forthright and often witty commentary on farming, cultural, historical and current social-political issues. He also ran the Nordwind book service, which distributed a range of works, including revisionist titles.

In March 1988 he testified in the “Holocaust trial” in Toronto of German-Canadian Ernst Zündel. Under oath, he detailed his wartime experiences at Auschwitz, and answered numerous pointed questions by the prosecuting attorney. (His testimony is related in the remarkable record of the trial compiled by Barbara Kulaszka, *Did Six Million Really Die?*, and in Robert Lenski’s book, *The Holocaust on Trial*.)

Persecution and Exile

Although he was never prosecuted for his “Auschwitz Lie” booklet, he was put on trial for other outspoken writings. In the 1980s he served a year in prison on charges of “insulting the state” (“*Verunglimpfung des Staates*”) and “insulting the memory of the dead.”

Driven from his beloved homeland, he was forced to live in exile in Denmark, Belgium and Switzerland. (To its credit, Denmark rejected German requests to extradite him, pointing out that he had

a valid residency permit and had not broken any Danish law.) While Danish police stood by, hundreds of "anti-fascist" thugs attacked his modest home in the small town of Kollund, pelting it with stones and defacing it with spray paint. They also severely damaged his book warehouse and, using corrosive acid, ravaged his car and expensive copy equipment. After months of such abuse, in 1995 Christophersen was forced to leave Denmark. Ill with cancer, he sought treatment in Switzerland, but in December 1995 was forced to leave that country. He next found temporary refuge in Spain. Meanwhile, the German printer of his *Bauernschaft* magazine was fined 50,000 marks.

During his final months, German officials treated him as a virtual "enemy of the state." His bank account in Germany was closed down, and in early 1996 a German court rejected his application to return to his homeland for a brief visit to attend the burial of a son who had died in a car crash. On the grounds that he had no permanent place of residence, in 1996 German authorities cancelled his state medical insurance coverage and stopped payment of his modest state retirement pension (into which he had paid for 45 years), as well as his military service pension. Christophersen was arrested for the last time a few weeks before his death, but a German judge declared him too ill to be jailed. Released to a son's custody, he died a few days later.

Life-Affirming Outlook

In an essay about his experiences, "Auschwitz and West German Justice," published in the Spring 1985 *Journal of Historical Review*, Thies Christophersen summed up his travails and his defiant but optimistic outlook on life:

When I wrote my ["Auschwitz Lie"] report, I was criticized on the grounds that, although I was in the camp and saw nothing of mass gasings, that fact did not necessarily mean that there were none ...

I have received thousands of letters and calls. Many of those who contacted me can confirm my statements, but are afraid to do so publicly. Some of those are SS men who were brutally mistreated and even tortured in Allied captivity.

I also immediately contacted those who claimed to know more about mass gasings. My experiences were precisely the same as those of French Professor Paul Rassinier. I have not found any eyewitnesses. Instead, people would tell me that they knew someone who knew someone else, who talked about it. In most cases the alleged eyewitnesses had died. Other supposed eyewitnesses would quickly begin to

stammer and stutter when I asked a few precise questions.

... Our writings may be banned. We may be thrown into prison. Our mail may be inspected. We may be attacked with fire and bombs. Our homes may be searched. We may be kept from obtaining employment or fired from our jobs. We may be slandered, ridiculed and persecuted like the early Christians. But we will suffer and endure it all, and our enemies will thus achieve precisely the opposite of what they intend. Their actions make others interested in what we do. I believe in truth and justice, and I know that one day they will prevail.

— M. W.

Italian Scholars Defend Free Speech of 'Holocaust Deniers'

Twenty-one Italian scholars and historians have issued a public statement defending freedom of speech and of historical research on the Holocaust issue, and criticizing the laws in France and Germany that restrict these rights for revisionist scholars who question the orthodox Holocaust extermination story. It specifically cites a French government order banning distribution in France of a book by Swiss revisionist scholar Jürgen Graf on the grounds that it "denies the Holocaust."

Most of the scholars who signed the statement — which was published March 1, 1996, in the Turin daily newspaper *La Stampa* — are professors at various Italian universities. Interestingly, they represent leftist, rightist and centrist political views.

The scholars conclude their appeal with the words: "We are appealing, therefore, to the scholarly community to which we belong, but also to the political world and to the press, so that they react to this state of affairs, and put an end to a tendency that wherever it develops may put the freedom of speech, press and culture in European countries at risk."

In an editorial that called the statement a "provocative protest," *La Stampa* commented: "The historians who signed the letter are challenging a taboo ... Until now, no one in the scientific or academic world, and outside the extreme right, has objected to the banning of denial texts, a ban codified in Germany and France by regulations that consider denial of the Holocaust a crime."

Critical Study of Holocaust Story Published in Japan

In early 1995 a major Japanese magazine, *Marco Polo*, was forced to shut down because it had published a ten-page article disputing the orthodox Holocaust extermination story. Jewish organizations responded with an international boycott campaign, promptly pressuring major corporations into cancelling advertising. Even Japan's Foreign Ministry intervened. Under this pressure, the large Bungei Shunju publishing company quickly caved in. News of the unprecedented surrender received worldwide media coverage. (A detailed report appeared in the March-April 1995 *Journal*.)

Further underscoring the growing impact of Holocaust revisionism, a few months later, and with memories of the *Marco Polo* incident still fresh, the first book-length Japanese-language presentation of Holocaust revisionism appeared in Nippon's bookstores.

"The Auschwitz Debate" (*Aushuvittsu no souten*) is a handsome 350-page hardcover work, illustrated with numerous photographs. It is published by Libertà, a Tokyo firm known for its leftist books on environmental issues and works critical of nuclear power policy.

Author Aiji Kimura, born in 1937, is an investigative journalist who worked for years at the research section of NTV television in Tokyo while he was also a labor union activist. Among his several previously published books is a critical treatment of the Japanese and American roles in the Gulf War. An assiduous researcher, Kimura has conducted his own on-site investigation of the alleged gas chambers at Birkenau and Auschwitz, where he also interviewed Auschwitz State Museum archives director Franciszek Piper.

Among the sources cited in the book's 15-page bibliography are not only standard Holocaust works, but also 13 books and eleven pamphlets published by the Institute for Historical Review, and 15 articles from the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*. In this book, Kimura describes his research trip to California in late 1994:

In November 1994 I visited the Institute, which is located south of Los Angeles ... There I questioned [Mark] Weber and exchanged views with him, videotaped an interview, and purchased a one-meter pile of some 30 books, which I carried back in my rucksack ... Naturally, their [IHR's] themes are not confined to the "Holocaust" ...

A Hard-Hitting Examination

Kimura not only carefully investigates the Holocaust extermination story, he critically examines the uses to which it has been put, and the reasons for its durability. His book traces the origins of "the Holocaust" to wartime propaganda, and tracks down false extermination claims from the Nuremberg Trials, which he calls "the most shameful farce ever conducted in the name of law." Much evidence favorable to the Nuremberg defendants was suppressed or has "disappeared," he shows. He also establishes that key Holocaust "evidence" is based on false testimony extracted by torture from Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss and others, or on demonstrably unreliable "eyewitness" testimony.

Kimura shows how the Holocaust story has been drastically changed over the years, showing, for example, how numerous "gas chamber" claims have been quietly abandoned. He identifies technical absurdities of Holocaust claims, and cites on-site forensic investigations at Auschwitz and other former camps. Kimura relates how Auschwitz "gas chambers" have been "rebuilt" since the end of the war.

He examines and ridicules the frantic efforts to shore up the crumbling Holocaust edifice, citing the Jewish-Zionist grip on the American media. Kimura tells readers about the routine name-calling, guilt by association, smears and even terrorism against "Holocaust deniers," including the devastating 1984 arson attack against the Institute for Historical Review. He describes the laws in France, Germany and some other countries that forbid any dissenting views on this issue. Whatever basis the "Holocaust" may have in fact, Kimura questions its use in justifying Zionist policies in the Middle East. He shows how the Holocaust campaign is used to support Israel's policies, particularly its dispossession and suppression of the Palestinian Arabs.

A News Conference Challenge

In February 1995 the feisty Kimura added drama to an otherwise colorless news conference in Tokyo, at which the Bungei Shunju president abjectly apologized for the offending *Marco Polo* article. The Wiesenthal Center's Rabbi Abraham Cooper was on hand to accept the Japanese surrender.

Kimura loudly harangued Cooper, demanding that the publishing company executive explain specifically what was inaccurate about the *Marco Polo* article. He pointedly asked Cooper about evidence that Simon Wiesenthal collaborated with the Gestapo during the war years, but the rabbi avoided the issue. Kimura also defended historical revisionism, speaking of its peaceful, honorable, and truth-seeking purpose. Hundreds of fellow journalists



アウシュヴィッツ収容所メイン・キャンプ入り口

アウシュヴィッツ

「ガス室」問題の争点と背景

リベルタ出版

木村 愛二

リベルタ出版 / 定価2575円 文庫320冊 (新興出版社・発売)

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「マルコポーロ」誌廃刊にいたるトラスチックな展開のなかで、肝心の「ガス室」については十分な論議が尽くされず、問題は残されたままになっている。この問題の争点はどこにあるのか、なぜそのような議論が出てくるのか、欧米での論争をフォローし、現地調査をふまえながら、問題の核心に迫る。

ISBN4-9-7637-33-1 C0022 P2575E



アウシュヴィッツの争点*目次

Title page and dust jacket back cover of Kimura's revisionist study, "The Auschwitz Debate" (*Aushuvittsu no souten*). It says: "In the dramatic events leading up to the shutting down of *Marco Polo* magazine, there was not sufficient discussion of the essential matter of the 'gas chambers.' The question still lingers. Where does the debate lie, and why is there such a debate? This book follows the controversy in Europe and the United States, includes on-site investigations, and leads to the heart of the matter."

responded to Kimura's remarks with spontaneous applause and expressions of agreement.

A Lively Seminar

As part of its capitulation, the Bungei Shunju company had to submit to stiff and humiliating conditions imposed by the Wiesenthal Center. In addition to a Center-organized "education" seminar in Japan for company employees, Bungei Shunju staff members had to fly to Los Angeles for Holocaust indoctrination courses at the Wiesenthal Center. Still other staff members were to travel to Auschwitz, and then write a new article for publication about the Holocaust issue from the "proper perspective." The Bungei Shunju company also agreed to publish a "proper" article deploring the *Marco Polo* episode, and to give \$50,000 to the Wiesenthal Center.

Details of this extraordinary arrangement were revealed in the August 1995 issue of the Japanese magazine *Uwasa no Shinsoh* ("The Truth of

Rumors"). The tough, convincingly written article was quietly contemptuous of the Bungei Shunju company's groveling to the Wiesenthal Center. While also critical of the Wiesenthal Center, the article was remarkably sympathetic to revisionism and revisionists.

Most of the article focused on the unusual three-day "education seminar" for Bungei Shunju journalists, editors and other employees. Rabbi Cooper and two other Wiesenthal Center officials addressed the attendees, who were obliged to sit through showings of three Holocaust propaganda films: "Genocide," "Echoes that Remain," and "Liberation." Cooper expressed the hope that the seminar would help in "building permanent friendships between the Jewish and Japanese people."

Although Japanese participants reportedly had been selected for their docility, and there were even some soft-ball questions planted in the audience ahead of time, the seminar proved less successful than the organizers had anticipated. (This was also

conceded in a *Los Angeles Times* report, May 27, 1995.)

One editor asked Rabbi Cooper what Jews have done to incur the wrath of so many nations over the centuries, saying that such intense hostility did not arise from nothing. Other participants questioned arrogant Jewish claims of "chosen people" status, or pointedly asked about Israel's repression of Palestinians.

Off the record, participants described the seminar as pure Zionist propaganda. Many noticed that none of the points raised in the original *Marco Polo* article was refuted, and no attempt was made to refute them. Several participants said that after this obvious brain-washing effort, they are now more sympathetic than ever to the revisionist position.

An Italian Voice for Freedom

Now in its 17th year of publication, an impressive Italian journal, *l'Uomo libero* ("The Free Man"), has been a consistently intelligent and outspoken champion of free speech and intellectual inquiry, and a staunch defender of Europe's cultural heritage. Editorial director is Mario Consoli, who is also a frequent contributor. The editor is Piero Sella, historian and author of several books.

Individual issues of this attractive intellectual quarterly are often thematically devoted to a particular cultural, political or historical subject. While previous issues have dealt with historical revisionism and the legal persecution in Europe of revisionists, a recent issue is entirely devoted to this subject.

This 128-page "Pluralism and Revisionism" issue of April 1996 (No. 41) includes a lengthy essay by Swiss educator and revisionist author Jürgen Graf, with a group photo of speakers (including Graf) at the Twelfth (1994) Conference of the Institute for Historical Review in Irvine, California. Also in this issue is a detailed revisionist bibliography of books and periodicals in the major European languages, including a listing of the contents of every issue of the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*.

As this special issue of *l'Uomo libero* demonstrates, dissident views of the Holocaust story are not (yet?) illegal in Italy — in contrast to the harsh persecution of revisionist "thought criminals" in France, Germany, Austria and a few other countries.

For further information, write: *l'Uomo libero*, Casella postale 1658, 20123 Milano, Italy.

Why the Holocaust Must Remain a Dogma

"The terms 'fascist' and 'Nazi' are today devoid of any real political or cultural content, and are instead insults used to bash an opponent — that is, anyone who dares oppose one-world and multi-racial democracy ... Through the use of an incredible machinery to manipulate public opinion, the victors of the Second World War succeeded not only in preventing a resurgence of fascism and National Socialism, but also of the traditional cultural and spiritual values that have permeated the life of Europe for countless centuries.

"Here's just how it's done: Traditional European values, such as love of homeland and family, heroism, honesty, sense of duty and spirituality, are equated with fascism and Nazism, with Hitler and Mussolini. Once this equation is accepted, it is enough simply to activate anti-fascist propaganda to strangle any revival of the values that are dangerous for those in power.

"This labeling as evil of the Europe that was vanquished in the Second World War accomplishes much more than merely marginalize fascists and National Socialists. It discredits the entire system of values that has sustained for millennia a civilization of a greatness that is unique in history. Standing accused in the dock along with Mussolini and Hitler are Plato and Dante, Machiavelli and Nietzsche, Caesar and Napoleon, Rome and the Holy Roman Empire.

"... Since the Nuremberg Tribunal, the most effective instrument for criminalizing fascism and National Socialism has proven to be the charge of genocide of the Jews. Six Million — a round, horrifying figure. Men and women, elderly and infants, eliminated merely because they were Jews ...

"Today the Holocaust is a lead weight meant for all time to tie down the feet of Germany and all of Europe.... Any threadbare pretext will suffice at any time to start up talk of the Holocaust. With the passage of time, the propaganda offensive does not weaken, but grows ever more intense, and in ever more European countries special laws are promulgated to protect the Jewish 'truth' ...

"The Holocaust must remain a myth, a dogma, sheltered from all revisionist and truthful scrutiny. The collapse of this dogma must inevitably call into question the entire current interpretation of contemporary history ... This would finally make possible a really pluralistic debate about the future of Europe ... and make possible the reintroduction of those values that, in opposition to one-worldism, restore to nations their right of identity and independence."

— Mario Consoli, editorial director of *l'Uomo libero* (Milan), in the "Pluralism and Revisionism" issue, No. 41, of April 1996.

German Television Report Features IHR Interview

Portions of an interview filmed at the office of the Institute for Historical Review were featured in a television report broadcast on two German regional television networks. The half-hour report, "Neo-Nazis Online: The Advance of the Extremists on the Internet," was shown on the "Shaft of Light" series broadcast in late 1996 on the SDR and WDR networks.

While most of the report focused on the activities of such figures as National Socialist leader Gerhard Lauck, "White Aryan Resistance" organizer Tom Metzger, and "Stormfront" Internet home page operator Don Black, a few minutes dealt with revisionism and the Institute.

The IHR is described as the "headquarters" of revisionism, which is characterized as a particularly perfidious form of anti-Semitism because it seeks to "relativize" the Holocaust story.

Simon Wiesenthal Center employee Rick Eaton is shown telling viewers that because it presents arguments in a scholarly way, the Institute is possibly "the most dangerous of all" the "hate" groups.

Both the outside and the inside of the IHR's office-warehouse building (inaccurately described as a "wood barracks") are shown. Greg Raven, seen working at his desk, is identified as the "system operator" responsible for the IHR's Internet connection. Two portions of a filmed interview with IHR Director Mark Weber are shown. Described as the Institute's "ideologue," he gives a summary definition of Holocaust revisionism, and tells viewers that revisionism has now spread to the point that it can no longer be effectively suppressed.

The interview with Weber, and the shots of the Institute building, were filmed by Dr. Thomas Aders of SDR television in Stuttgart during an August 22 visit to southern California.

Simultaneously as the narrator describes the IHR conference speakers list as a "who's who of history distorters," brief clips are shown of Robert Faurisson, David Irving and Ernst Zündel addressing the 1994 IHR Conference.

While the report is effective in its purpose, it is essentially a glitzy, high-tech smear job. For example, it inaccurately characterizes the Institute, at least by implication, as a "neo-Nazi" organization. Its essential bias is manifest in its completely uncritical, even sympathetic, portrayal of the Wiesenthal Center and the Anti-Defamation League, and their spokespersons. This in spite of these organizations' well-documented record of distorting historical truth to further their ultra-Zionist objectives.

Thousands Check Out IHR Material

Internet Web Site Offers Instant Worldwide Access to Revisionism

Through his personal Internet Web site, *Journal* associate editor Greg Raven makes available an impressive selection of material from the Institute for Historical Review, including IHR *Journal* articles and reviews and IHR leaflets. A listing of every item that has ever appeared in this *Journal* enables callers to quickly search for titles and authors. New Web site items are added as time permits.

This revisionist material is instantly available to millions around the world, free of censorship by governments or powerful special interest groups. It can be reached 24 hours a day from 146 countries through the World Wide Web (WWW), a multimedia Internet service.

Each month thousands of persons in dozens of countries visit this Web site, with the average caller viewing 12 files (or articles) per visit. Because it is linked to several other revisionist (and anti-revisionist) Web sites, visitors can easily access vast amounts of additional information.

In recent months, the number of daily "hits" or visits to Raven's Web site jumped sharply — from several dozen to hundreds daily. In January, the site was receiving nearly two thousand visits every day. (For more about the IHR and the cyberspace revolution, see "Revisionist Global Computer Outreach" in the July-August 1995 *Journal*.)

The Web site address for IHR material is

<http://www.kaiwan.com/~ihrgreg>

E-mail messages should be sent to the IHR in care of **ihrgreg@kaiwan.com**

'Hateful' Term Needed?

"[Abraham] Foxman [National Director of the Anti-Defamation League] believes there must be a better term to describe the deniers. 'To call them Holocaust deniers is too sanitized, and to call them what they claim to be, Holocaust revisionists, is to give them credence they do not deserve. We need a term that is hateful, a term that conveys the nature of the danger they present — that goes to the essence of their challenge to the Jewish people'."

— Quoted by Stewart Ain in "Six Million Did Not Die in the Gas Chambers," *Inside* (Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia), Winter 1994, p. 92.

Revelation and Activism

Nice job with the [Nov.–Dec. 1995] *Journal*. In particular, Jürgen Graf's article really drove home what I've always suspected, helping me to fully understand the consequences of the outcome of World War II. I plan to become a European history teacher, to promote the truth and help reinvigorate an educational system that is riddled with lies. I want to make sure that young people, and especially university students, know who is responsible for all this.

Our Western Civilization class recently covered Hitler, World War II and the Holocaust, with the professor performing the usual verbal rituals, stressing the "unique historical nature" of the wartime treatment of Europe's Jews. I wanted to shout out, "Students, you are being spoon fed a huge lie. Think! Question what he is saying!", but I kept quiet, not wishing to jeopardize my plans for the future with a futile gesture. All the same, I am distributing copies of several *Journal* articles to fellow students.

The *Journal* has set me free. I cannot thank you enough. You are creating legions of revisionists.

P. D.
Cincinnati, Ohio

New 'Lessons' of War

Ask an American veteran of World War II about the "lessons" of that conflict, and he's likely to tell you that we fought to protect our country from aggression by Japan and Nazi Germany. But ask a young American about World War II's "lessons," and he is likely to mention "the Holocaust" and something about fighting "racism" or "fascism." The Holocaust campaign is drastically changing our perception of the century's most important conflict. Young Ameri-

cans are now taught that the war was a struggle against "racism" and white nationalism.

The Holocaust campaign is part of a well-organized effort to convince Americans that nationalism is all right for everyone except white people. It is a major weapon in the effort to impose "multiculturalism" on America — something that Americans of the World War II generation overwhelmingly opposed. Today anyone who voices support for the policies and views that were entirely taken for granted prior to the cultural revolution of the 1960s is damned as a fascist or neo-Nazi. Let's be honest: Hitler had more respect for the cultural and national integrity of even his enemies than do today's multiculturalists for the cultural and national character of the United States or any European country.

Thanks to your fine work, things will change and American-Americans will once again be free. Your work is very important. Enclosed is a contribution [\$68] to help your cause.

K. J.
Colorado Springs, Col.

Sincere Collaboration: A Russian Responds to Zündel

I've just finished reading Ernst Zündel's essay, "My Impressions of the New Russia," in the Sept.–Oct. 1995 *Journal*. While it is extremely interesting reading, there are also mistakes and misunderstandings that non-Russian readers may not recognize.

Mr. Zhirinovsky and his Liberal Democratic Party staff understandably did their best to present themselves and their party to Mr. Zündel in the best possible light during his visit to Russia. They did a good job, but what he saw was well-done propaganda facade. It's not important if

Vladimir Zhirinovsky is a Jew or a half-Jew. It's a personal matter, and nothing more. But his clearly un-Russian appearance is, to put it politely, not in keeping with his self-appointed role as a Russian nationalist leader. Imagine, for example, a Black American leader who looked Chinese. Regardless of the sincerity of his views, it would look rather odd.

More important are Zhirinovsky's activities in Russian political life since 1991, when, as an all but unknown politician, he finished third in the presidential elections. During the five years since then, he has given countless speeches, hosted numerous news conferences, and provoked one scandal after another — but without a single substantive activity as a responsible leader of the nationalist opposition. As he has shown time and time again (and as he confirmed to Zündel) Zhirinovsky will do anything for publicity. As the last presidential elections show, the Russians don't trust him. Zhirinovsky is not a genuine nationalist leader or Russian patriot, much less a "neo-fascist." He plays the role of an agent provocateur, and one must be careful in dealing with him.

In speaking about the Communist Party and former Communist Party apparatchiks, Zündel confuses two quite different things. The present-day Communist Party of Russia (CPR), lead by Gennady Zyuganov, has nothing in common with the old Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) of Gorbachev and Co. Zyuganov's CPR promotes Russian and Eurasian nationalism — in a rather mild form, to be sure, but realistic and sincere, unlike Zhirinovsky's fairy tale ravings — along with some ideas of social democracy and nationally-ori-

ented socialism. Zyuganov's Party publishes or supports such leading dissident newspapers as *Sovetskaya Rossiya* ("Soviet Russia") and *Zavtra* ("Tomorrow"). This Party has the largest faction in the Russian parliament (Duma), and its leader was the major challenger to Yeltsin in last year's presidential elections. They are very unusual "Communists."

President Yeltsin, Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, and many other ranking politicians and officials are former high-ranking CPSU Communists. The government bureaucrats, officials, financial dealers, and so forth, who are prospering in today's Russia are actually former CPSU apparatchiks who have transformed themselves into pro-Western "democrats."

Contrary to the impression given in the western media, the 1996 presidential election was not a contest between Communists and Democrats, but a struggle between forces loyal to Russia, and the forces of internationalism beholden to the New World Order. It is perhaps a great, ironic joke of history that the Communist Party of Russia is today the most important political force opposing the pro-Western course of President Yeltsin, unrestrained westernization (Americanization), and the "New World Order." (There are also some small Communist groups of doctrinaire Marxists, but they have no significant political clout or popular support.)

Zündel spoke admiringly of former KGB Major General Alexander Sterligov. In spite of his efforts to portray himself as a sincere patriot, Sterligov has never had any real political importance or popularity among Russian nationalists.

It's a pity that Zündel was not able to meet with the leaders of Russia's authentic patriotic opposition. These include Yuri Vlasov, a prominent essayist and writer, Serguei Baburin of the Russian All-Peoples Union (and Duma vice chief), Victor Alksnis, a retired Colonel, political analyst and

writer, Nicolai Lyssenko of the National Republican Party, writer and essayist Alexander Dugin, and Victor Beszverkhy of the Union of Veneds, a neo-paganist spiritual and political organization. While none of these men is a Communist, many support (sometimes covertly) Zyuganov's CPR.

Zündel is mistaken about Vladimir Rezun (Suvorov) and his book, *Icebreaker*. Nearly every informed and honest Russian dislikes this book and its author because Rezun is not a sincere searcher for historical truth. His book is actually a masterfully done piece of hate propaganda. During the Soviet era, we learned to recognize such propaganda, including historiographic propaganda. Now several Russian revisionist historians, including some friends of mine, are preparing a well-researched refutation of Rezun to be entitled "Icebreaker's Lie: Rezun Revisited." Parenthetically, Rezun was never a "senior" Soviet military intelligence officer. He was only a rank and file officer, with no special access to privileged information not directly connected with his work.

It is true, as Zündel mentions, that Russians ardently hate traitors and defectors. This is only natural and right, I think, especially those who betray military or intelligence service. We may be able to excuse a defector who acted to save his life, and who did not pass on any secret information to foreign governments. (This was the case of Alexander Orlov, whose story is given in *Deadly Illusions* by John Costello and Oleg Tsarev [Crown, 1993].) But the Rezun case is quite different, and inexcusable.

Every intelligent Russian nationalist understands the importance of good relations between Russia and Germany. Such friendship and alliance is not only possible but necessary and mutually beneficial. Russian patriots really want to "build bridges" for such an alliance, which would be the most powerful blow to the New World Order.

Right now only one side is working toward this goal: the Russian one.

While I respect Mr. Zündel's nationalist feelings, he should respect or at least try to understand ours. Granted, Soviet atrocities in eastern and central Europe at the end of, and just after, the Second World War were terrible. Nobody can be proud of those misdeeds, and nobody denies them. But it should be recalled that these came only after terrible German cruelties in Russia, during three years of harsh occupation. As Zündel writes, "that wasn't the work of nice people." While not forgetting what happened, let us at least try to pardon or set aside all that to work together for common goals.

Zündel also writes: "I believe that if we revisionists quickly get our act together, we can help free the Russians from some terrific misconceptions ..." Since the time of Peter the Great, so often in our history "enlightened" Europeans have been trying the help "backward" Russia to "understand." No thanks! We don't need "enlightenment," but rather cooperation on the basis of mutual respect. We don't presume to explain your history to you. We desire sincere collaboration on an open, honest and equal basis.

In the spirit of historical revisionism, I want to stress: we have our own heritage, and we don't need others to explain to us how to appreciate it. Of course, we are interested in what people outside our country think, and we are open to discussion. But we also have our own views about European, American and world history and affairs.

We want to translate and publish in Russia as many of the revisionist classics as possible. At the same time, we have many solid works of history that deserve translating and publishing abroad. (I don't include such court historians as Dimitri Volkogonov or such mediocre amateurs as the playwright Edvard Radzinsky, each of whose books have received

praise in the United States.)

We have survived decades of terrible distortion, propaganda and brainwashing. But a similar propagandistic distortion, even if less overt, now plays a role in the so-called "free world." It is true that we lack "printing and duplicating equipment." Today we are poor, but only materially, not in knowledge or ideas. Right now we Russians enjoy a remarkable, although perhaps temporary, freedom of speech. Let's make use of this opportunity for our common goals.

*Nikodim M. Ipatiev
Moscow, Russia*

Sheftel Unfair to Brentar

Yoram Sheftel's book about the John Demjanjuk case [reviewed in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*] is valuable and enlightening. While it deals mainly with the author's work as defense attorney for the Ukrainian-born auto worker, it sheds light on the more basic issue as to how and why the Holocaust story has achieved its sacred status in Western society. Still, the book is not without flaws.

"The one and only purpose" of extraditing Demjanjuk to Israel, writes Sheftel (p. 7) "was to conduct a special 'Israeli-style' show-trial, to teach Israeli children the story of the Holocaust and heighten 'Holocaust awareness' among the public." Actually, another purpose of this campaign was to offset the growing influence of Holocaust revisionism. "At a time when there are those who even deny the Holocaust ever took place," said Israel's Attorney General, Yitzhak Zamir (not be confused with Yitzhak Shamir), "it is important to remind the world of what a fascist regime is capable of ... and in this respect the Demjanjuk trial will fulfill an important function." (*Cleveland Jewish News*, March 21, 1986, p. 16).

A much more serious defect is Sheftel's shabby treatment of Jerome Brentar, the travel agent who did so much to help win freedom for John Demjanjuk. In a totally

unjustified slap at the Cleveland businessman (inaccurately identified as "Berntar"), Sheftel castigates him as a "foul anti-Semite" (p. 122). This smear actually tells us more about Sheftel's peculiar mind-set than about Brentar.

Sheftel makes no mention of Brentar's years-long sacrifice on behalf of Demjanjuk — at great financial cost and considerable damage to his reputation. At a time when few outside his family circle believed in his innocence, Brentar worked tirelessly to secure justice for this hounded man. It was he, for example, who enlisted the support of Ohio Congressman James Traficant, the only public official who had the courage to openly call for justice for Demjanjuk. [See Brentar's essay, "My Campaign for Justice for John Demjanjuk," in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*.] Without Jerry Brentar's generous assistance, Demjanjuk likely would have been put to death in Israel.

*Paul Grubach
Lyndhurst, Ohio*

Jews and Bolshevism: A Revised View

In my letter in the Sept.-Oct. 1995 *Journal*, "Jews in the Bolshevik Takeover of Russia: A Dissenting View," I undertook to defend the record of the Jewish leaders of Bolshevism. I now believe that I was attempting to defend the indefensible, because I have since learned that the Communist seizure and consolidation of power was much crueler than I had imagined.

The only defense I can offer is that the Bolsheviks never intended that things would work out the way they did. What I think happened was this: for years prior to 1917, the Bolsheviks drew up plans for their ideal society in European cafes and meeting halls. After coming to power in Russia they proceeded to impose their utopian plans on a nation they did not understand, and on people who had no interest in sacrificing for an ideal society. Russians do not take easily to

discipline, ask little more from life than minimal personal comforts, and have a centuries-old tradition of passive resistance.

While the catastrophe that ensued was not at all what the Bolsheviks had anticipated, it was what any astute person should have expected. As for the severe repressions that followed, we might paraphrase Byron: Hell hath no fury like a refuted intellectual.

*Richard Phillips
Cranston, Rhode Island*

Fascinating Book

Just this afternoon I finished reading *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. I found Dr. Butz's book absolutely fascinating. Until now I was firmly but uncomfortably convinced of the Holocaust and Six Million myths.

I am neither anti-Jewish nor an Aryan separatist. I am not a fan or follower of Hitler. I am pro-truth, and I want to further investigate this subject. Thank you, Arthur Butz, for removing my blindness.

*JoAnn M.
Riverside, Calif.*

More Distorted

Thanks for telling the other side of World War II. As part of an international campaign to demonize the West and vilify the German people, the official version of history is becoming ever more distorted.

Those who invent and propagandize their horrible stories can do anything they want, because anyone who courageously points out the lies is instantly damned and earns the condemnation of the ignorant masses.

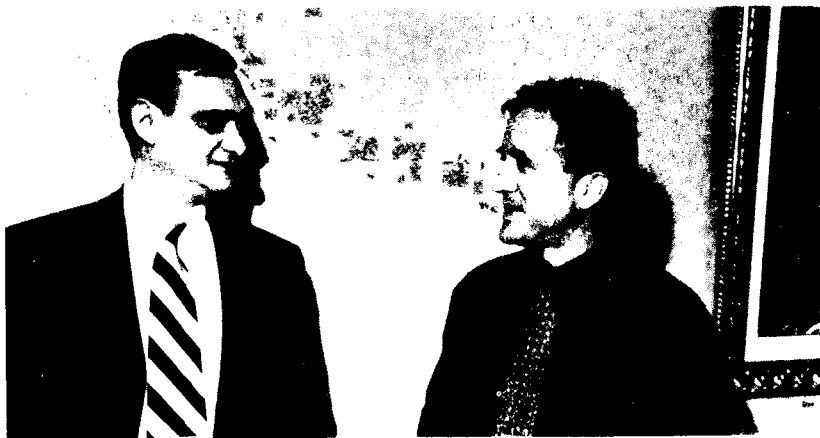
Keep up the good work.

*J. R. E.
San Francisco, Calif.*

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Mermelstein the 'Eyewitness'

Theodore J. O'Keefe

Auschwitz: Facts and Legend

Robert Faurisson

The 'Gassing Cellar' Problem

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On the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre Affair

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Germany 'Indexes' IHR Leaflets

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On the cover:

Partial view of the industrial works of Auschwitz III (Monowitz), one of wartime Germany's most important centers for the production of gasoline from coal. Allied bombers killed many Auschwitz III workers, including Jews, in 1944 and 1945.

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History and 'Memory'

An Examination of the Evidence of 'Holocaust Witness' Mel Mermelstein

THEODORE J. O'KEEFE

In September 1991 the Institute for Historical Review prevailed in a lawsuit brought by Mel Mermelstein, a southern California businessman and self-professed eyewitness to the gas chambers of Auschwitz. This victory closed more than ten years of wrangling in two legal cases, neither of which ever came to trial, in a rancorous dispute that tested the legitimacy of efforts by skeptical scholars to revise the generally held version of the Holocaust.

It all began at the first IHR conference in 1979, when co-founder and then-director David McCalden announced an award of \$50,000 to anyone who could provide proof of homicidal gassings of Jews at Auschwitz. Mermelstein, a wartime detainee of the camp, submitted a claim for the award, and then brought a lawsuit against the Institute on the grounds that it had not acted quickly enough on his claim.

The first suit was settled in July 1985 when the Institute and co-defendants paid Mermelstein \$90,000, and issued an apology to him "and all other survivors of Auschwitz for the pain, anguish and suffering he and all other Auschwitz survivors have sustained relating to the \$50,000 reward offer."¹ Mermelstein's victory predictably received sympathetic nationwide media attention, and was dramatized in a flattering and much publicized made-for-television movie, "Never Forget," starring Leonard Nimoy (as a heroic and principled Mel Mermelstein) and Dabney Coleman (who played Mermelstein's lawyer).²

In the second case, Mermelstein brought an \$11 million suit for defamation (libel) because of an *IHR Newsletter* item by Bradley Smith that called him a "demonstrable fraud," a "vainglorious prevaricator,"

and a "false-tale spinner."³ On September 19, 1991, Mermelstein was obliged to drop what remained of his suit after a Los Angeles Superior Court judge dismissed a substantial portion of it. (For the most comprehensive account of the second Mermelstein trial, see this writer's article in the January-February 1994 *Journal of Historical Review*.)⁴ In contrast to the generous media coverage of the first case, newspapers all but ignored the second.⁵

Although in each case the judicial dispute centered on such strictly legal issues as whether a valid contract had existed, whether Mermelstein had been libeled, whether he was a public figure, and whether earlier suits had been brought maliciously, the essence was Mermelstein's claim to have witnessed his mother and sisters as they were driven into a gas chamber at Auschwitz-Birkenau in May 1944.⁶ Mermelstein and his lawyers stressed the "Holocaust" angle, twice succeeding in having a judge take "judicial notice" of the claim that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz. In the second, 1991 trial, they even attempted to introduce as evidence the entire transcript of the main Nuremberg (IMT) trial.

For our part, Institute researchers, including McCalden, IHR writers Lou Rollins and Bradley Smith, and I, devoted considerable effort to checking the various claims Mermelstein had made over the years. During the course of this ten-year investigation, which intensified with the approach of trial in the second case in 1991, we were assisted by volunteers across America and in several foreign countries. For example, through intermediaries we obtained information about Mermelstein and his family from the Auschwitz State Museum.

While several accounts have already been published that focus on the legal and public relations aspects of the dispute, this article centers on Mermelstein's credibility as a Holocaust witness. Here we take a look at his public statements and writings, especially his autobiographical memoir, *By*



Theodore J. O'Keefe

Theodore J. O'Keefe worked as an Institute for Historical Review editor from 1986 until 1994. He led the IHR's research effort during the second Mermelstein lawsuit, devoting hundreds of hours without pay to uncovering and organizing the evidence. He served as chief editor of this *Journal* from 1988 until April 1992, and addressed the IHR Conferences of 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990 and 1992. Educated at Harvard University, he is the author of numerous published articles on historical and political subjects.

Bread Alone, as well as hitherto unpublished testimony and recollections he provided to authorities at the Auschwitz State Museum and the German consulate in Los Angeles, from wartime concentration camp records obtained in Germany and in Poland, and from other sources.⁷

This is all the more fitting given the fervor with which Jewish-Zionist groups, public officials, and much of the media have embraced Mermelstein as a particularly important and credible Holocaust witness.⁸ For example, a *Los Angeles Times* feature article by staff writer Mark Pinsky praised Mermelstein as “a normally soft-spoken, single-minded man, a persistent witness, much like Nobel Prize-winning Elie Wiesel and no less eloquent ...”⁹ The Los Angeles City Council honored Mermelstein on December 15, 1981, with a formal resolution that declared:

Mel Mermelstein, in 1944, May the 22nd, at dawn, saw his mother and two sisters among other Jewish women and children from his hometown, lured and driven into gas chambers disguised as shower rooms at the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination center in Poland.

Four months later, the California state Assembly acclaimed him with a similarly laudatory formal resolution.¹⁰

Research Sources and Obstacles

Our efforts to obtain information about Mermelstein and his family, and to find Mermelstein relatives in Israel and the United States, were hampered in part because Mermelstein is a common family name among Hungarian Jews.¹¹ Adding to the difficulties in tracking down Mermelstein family members (and other European Jews) is the common practice of changing the last name upon emigration, and the possibility of Mermelstein’s sisters marrying after the war (and his mother re-marrying). To this must be added confusion about first names. As a young man in Europe Mel Mermelstein evidently went by the first names of “Mor,” “Moric” (or “Moritz”), and (at home) “Moishe.” His father’s first name is given in documents, in *By Bread Alone*, and elsewhere, variously as “Bernard,” “Bernád,” “Bernat,” “Hersh-Ber” or “Hermann.”

In line with longstanding practice, the American Red Cross and the International Tracing Service at Arolsen, Germany (which is administered by the International Committee of the Red Cross), informed our researcher that any information regarding former detainees (including Mermelstein and his family members) is shared only with former detainees, their next of kin, or their attorneys.¹²

Our researchers were able to confirm that Mel



Mel Mermelstein on the witness stand.

Mermelstein was born on September 25, 1926, in Örösveg, a suburb of Munkacs, where he was also raised. At the time of his birth this area was part of eastern Czechoslovakia, but was annexed to Hungary from 1939 to 1944. Today Munkacs is the western Ukrainian city of Mukachevo.

Along with some two thousand other Hungarian Jews, he was deported to Auschwitz on or about May 20-21, 1944, where he was registered on the 22nd as prisoner number A-4685 (the registration number which is still tattooed on his arm). About six weeks later, he was apparently taken to the Gleiwitz I labor camp (a satellite of Auschwitz), where he was detained and worked until the camp was evacuated in January 1945. In the face of the approaching Soviet forces, he and the other inmates were marched to Blechhammer and then westwards to the Gross-Rosen camp, from where he was transported by train to the Buchenwald. Apparently arriving there on or about February 10, 1945, he remained in the camp until it was liberated by American troops on April 11, 1945.¹³

Gassing Witness?

Very early on we noticed significant discrepancies between Mermelstein’s different accounts, and that some of his claims contradicted well established and easily verifiable facts.

Perhaps most remarkable, we discovered that it was not until the summer of 1980 — that is, after he



An angry Mel Mermelstein, played by "Dr. Spock" actor Leonard Nimoy, is restrained by his lawyer William Cox, played by Dabney Coleman, in a scene from the 1991 motion picture "Never Forget."

decided to respond to the IHR challenge — that Mermelstein first made his key "eyewitness" claim about seeing his mother and sisters enter a gas chamber. In none of the numerous newspaper interviews he gave prior to 1980 (that we were able to discover) did he make any mention of seeing anyone go into any gas chamber.¹⁴ Similarly, Mermelstein makes no mention of seeing his mother and sisters enter any building or "gas chamber" in the first, 1979 edition of his detailed memoir, *By Bread Alone* (written before the reward offer).¹⁵

Instead he makes only an ambiguous reference (p. 119) to seeing them for the last time as he and his father watched from near their barracks building ("The column neared our barracks. Separated only by strands of barbed wire, I could see them ..."). He even suggests that, instead of being gassed, his mother and sisters had been "burned alive. Specifically, he recounts (p. 129) the words of his father during a conversation a few days after their arrival at Birkenau:

"Your mother and sisters are..." He paused a moment, unable to go on. "And you must not torture your minds [*sic*] about their fate. Yes, yes. Look! There!" And he pointed to the flaming [*sic*] chimneys. The vision of my mother, Etu and Magda being burned alive made me feel faint.

More to the point, what Mermelstein wrote on this matter in his memoir actually *contradicts* his later claims. In *By Bread Alone* he specifically relates that it was only at the end of the war, after his liberation from Buchenwald, that he first heard, second-hand, that his mother and sisters had been gassed. Believing that his brother and sisters and likely his mother were still alive, he made his way back to Munkacs, where his uncle, Moshe-Aron, told him that none had survived. Moshe-Aron said he *had heard* that Mermelstein's mother and sisters had been "led to the gas chambers at Birkenau."¹⁶

Yet, in a letter published in a California daily paper in July 1980 (responding to the IHR challenge for proof of a Nazi gas chamber), he wrote:¹⁷

I witnessed my own mother and two sisters driven among others to the tunnel for their final station, the Gas Chamber No. 5 at Birkenau. It was on May 22, 1944, at dawn. I remember it. I was but a stone's throw away from the gas chambers and crematoriums...

The contrast between this and his earlier statements strongly suggests that Mermelstein never witnessed any such event, but rather that he invented or imagined this scene in response to the IHR's challenge. If Mermelstein had actually witnessed his mother and two sisters led into a gas chamber at Birkenau, is it believable that he would make no mention of this in his numerous pre-1980 interviews, or in his 1979 memoir of more than 270 pages?

Fantasy 'Tunnel'

On other occasions since mid-1980, Mermelstein has claimed that he saw his mother and sisters enter "gas chamber no. 5" going into a "tunnel." For example, in a written declaration made in December 1980, he stated:¹⁸

On May 22, 1944, I observed the buildings used as gas chambers and saw a column of women and children being driven into the tunnel that lead into the gas chambers, which I later determined to be the gas chamber number 5. The last time I saw my mother and two sisters was when they were driven into what I later discovered to be the gas chamber at Birkenau at dawn on May 22, 1944.

In a July 1981 response to pretrial questions, he declared:¹⁹

I personally observed my mother and sisters being driven, along with a group of women and children, into the gas chambers at Auschwitz.

The building had two chimneys which had been and continued to spew a peculiar reddish flame and which has been identified as gas chamber #5.

Mermelstein's precision on this point is all the more noteworthy considering his numerous visits to Auschwitz (more than a dozen, he says), his testimony given there, and his evident concern, expressed in his public statements, with the details of Auschwitz and the standard Holocaust legend.

Mermelstein's "gas chamber no. 5" can only designate the building that is more commonly known as "Crematory 5," "Krematorium V," or "Krema 5." But this claim is simply not possible. As all authoritative sources agree, Crematory 5 (as well as its mirror double, Crematory 4), was built entirely above ground and had neither stairs, tunnel, basement, nor morgue cellar. (The two structures that did have semi-underground "morgue cellars" [*Leichenkeller*]) were crematories 2 and 3, some distance away.)²⁰ Interestingly, crematory building 5 (Krema V) was surrounded by trees, and was therefore called the "forest crematory."²¹ Mermelstein, though, has never made any mention of these trees.

In short, Mermelstein's testimony about "gas chamber number 5" and its "tunnel" alone discredits him as a trustworthy "gas chamber" witness, and further suggests that he is lying about this key "eyewitness" claim.

Extermination Victims?

What was the actual fate of Mermelstein's parents and siblings? In *By Bread Alone* (p. 119), he describes the last time he saw his mother, Fani, and his sisters, Edith and Magda:

In the distance, toward the railroad tracks, we once again saw long columns of women and children walking toward the blazing [*sic*] chimneys. There were hundreds of them quietly humming and chanting. The column neared our barracks ...

A comparison of this description with the actual layout of the camp as established by aerial photographs and layout plans suggests that what Mermelstein most likely saw was his mother and sisters entering the "Sauna" center, where new arrivals were routinely cleaned and deloused. This is near the westernmost end of the "Kanada" section, where the personal effects of the inmates were stored and where they were issued camp clothing.²²

Mermelstein claims that he and the rest of his family arrived by train at Auschwitz on May 21, 1944 — that is, during the May-July 1944 period



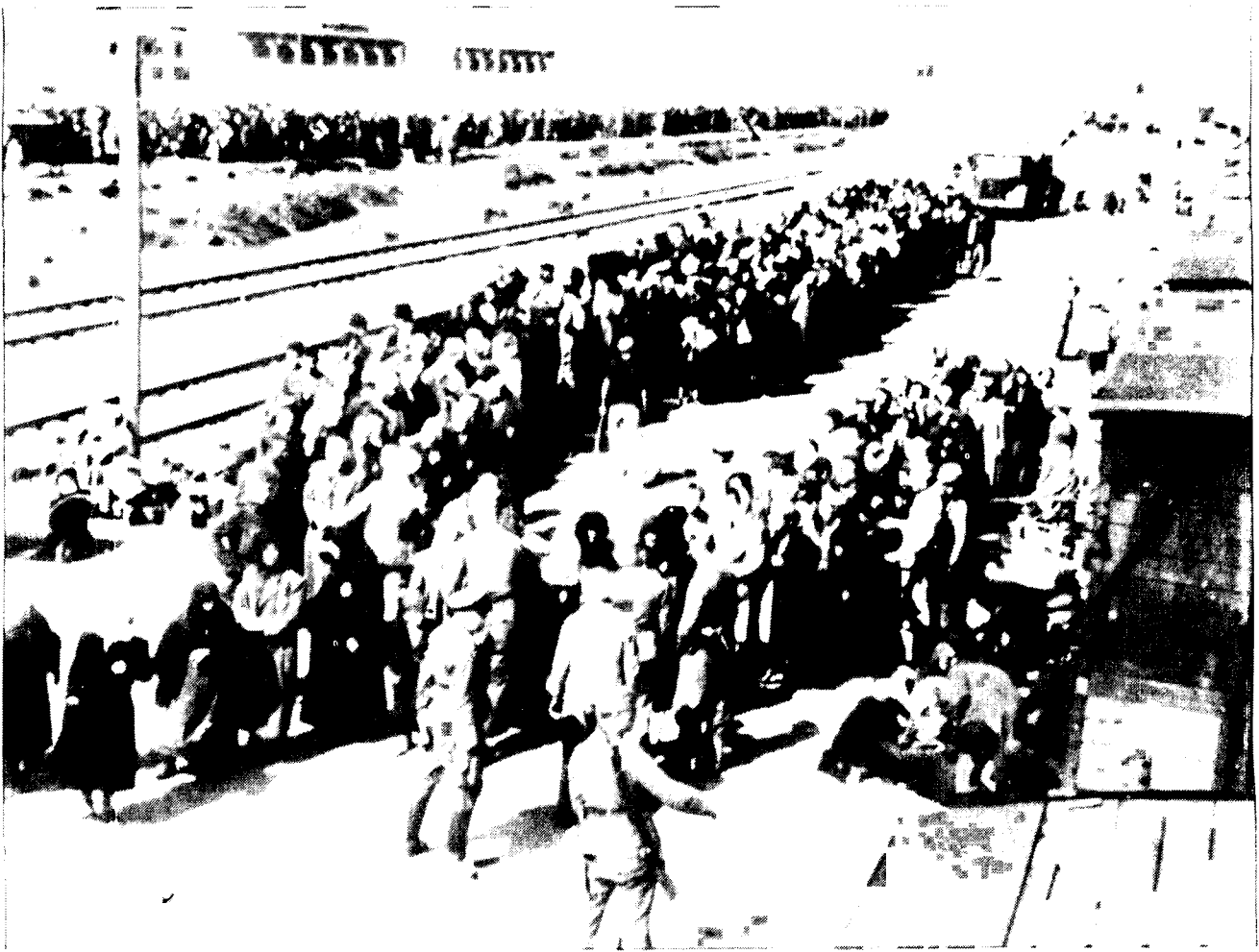
At a screening party for "Never Forget," a dramatization of the legal dispute between Mermelstein and the Institute for Historical Review, are, from left, producer Robert Radnitz, Mel Mermelstein, and lead actor Leonard Nimoy.

when, according to most Holocaust historians, the great majority of newly arriving Hungarian Jews (some 400,000 in all) were promptly gassed and cremated.²³ Jewish historian Martin Gilbert writes in his book *Auschwitz and the Allies* that three trainloads of some 12,000 Hungarian Jews arrived at Auschwitz on May 21, 1944, of whom all but eleven men and six women were gassed.²⁴

Consistent with this, for years it has been widely and authoritatively asserted that all Jews arriving at Birkenau who were not able to work, or who were not registered, were promptly consigned to death in the gas chambers.²⁵ In fact, camp records and other incontestable evidence show that at least a very high percentage of Auschwitz Jews who were not able to work, or who were not registered, were nevertheless not killed.²⁶ At the Eleventh IHR Conference in 1992, this writer described²⁷ finding the names of Mermelstein's sisters, Edith and Magda, on an October 1944 SS document in the Auschwitz Museum archives that lists 500 Jewish female prisoners, with their birth dates, who were transferred from Auschwitz to Altenburg, a satellite labor camp of Buchenwald.²⁸

This document would seem to prove that Mermelstein's sisters "survived" Auschwitz. However, the birth dates given on this list for these two Mermelstein women are different than the birth dates Mel Mermelstein has provided for his sisters. Whereas the 1944 SS listing gives the birth dates as September 4, 1923, for Edith, and May 17, 1926, for Magda, Mermelstein gives the birth dates as October 31, 1923, and June 12, 1928, respectively.²⁹

In any case, the fact that the Jewish women on



Upon arrival at Auschwitz-Birkenau, Jews were separated into columns of employable and non-employable inmates.

this transport list ranged in age from 15 to 48 (with most in their twenties), including quite a few sharing the same age as Mermelstein's "gassed" sisters, at least shows that Jewish women of this age were not automatically "gassed."³⁰ Also significant, nearly half the women on this 1944 transport list, including Edith and Magda Mermelstein, were not given Auschwitz registration numbers. Of the 500 Jewish Auschwitz prisoners on this SS list, 212 were transferred from the camp, alive and well, without having been registered.

Fate of Other Family Members

Mermelstein has also given contradictory information as to the fate of his father, Bernard. In his memoir, he gives a detailed and heartrending account of how he learned, at Buchenwald in early 1945, from an acquaintance from his home town, that his father had died in his bed of exhaustion at the Jaworzno (Neu-Dachs) satellite camp on December 18, 1944.³¹ However, in a 1969 declaration given

in Los Angeles he stated: "My father and my brother [Lajos] died during the evacuation marches to Blechhammer from other camps."³²

We were unable to find any substantive information about the fate of brother Lajos, although in *By Bread Alone* (p. 241), Mermelstein reports that after the end of the war his uncle Moshe-Aaron told him that his brother had been "shot on the road to [satellite camp] Blechhammer [sic] from Camp Jaworzna [sic]" during the evacuations in early 1945.³³

More Misinformation

In *By Bread Alone*, Mermelstein describes the escape in 1944 of several non-Jewish inmates from Gleiwitz I, the satellite camp of Auschwitz where he was interned for a time. He then tells readers that the camp's remaining Slavic inmates were sent to Auschwitz and gassed: "All of the Poles, Ukrainians and Russians were going to Auschwitz — to the gas chambers."³⁴ However, an official Polish version of this escape and its consequences (in an article in

Hefte von Auschwitz, a scholarly periodical issued by the Auschwitz State Museum) differs markedly from Mermelstein's. This is all the more remarkable considering that this article includes information on the affair from Mermelstein himself (p. 98), and because the article was published in 1973, and thus available to him, a frequent visitor to Auschwitz, six years before *By Bread Alone* appeared.³⁵

What was the actual fate of the Slavic inmates at Gleiwitz after the escape of their fellows? According to the *Hefte von Auschwitz* article, the Slavic inmates were actually transferred for labor to a series of camps inside the Reich proper. While the article doesn't reveal how many survived the war, there certainly is no evidence that a single one was gassed.

This same *Hefte von Auschwitz* article cites former inmate Mermelstein as having taken part in the "uprising and self-liberation" of Buchenwald. This is based on a statement he made in his 1967 affidavit to the Auschwitz camp authorities.³⁶ The story that Buchenwald was self-liberated by an inmate uprising is now almost universally acknowledged as a myth — a legend fostered in particular by the Communists, who claimed to have organized the revolt.³⁷

To be sure, in the 1960s and 1970s, a period during which Mermelstein made at least nine visits to Auschwitz and other sites in Communist-ruled eastern Europe, the functionaries at the Auschwitz State Museum and the steering committee of the International Auschwitz Committee were either Communists themselves or beholden to the Communist line on Auschwitz, the Holocaust story, and doubtless much else.³⁸ Interestingly, in *By Bread Alone* (pp. 206-207), written for American consumption, there is nothing about an "uprising and self-liberation": merely "rumors" and "talk" about such a thing. When American forces arrive for the actual liberation, Mermelstein describes himself as a somewhat bemused observer, not a participant.

Bizarre Dance of Death

Perhaps the most fantastic of the claims made by Mermelstein in *By Bread Alone* (pp. 115, 117) is that on the night of his arrival at Auschwitz-Birkenau, he, his father, and his brother, among many other Jews, were driven naked to three flaming pits in which it was possible to discern burning bodies. Mermelstein and the other new arrivals joined a complicated choreography wherein the nude inmates simultaneously ran around the pits as SS men with guard dogs forced others to join the macabre dance:

Ahead were three huge pits dug deep into the ground. In each a fire was raging. Around the

flaming pits naked men were running in an endless circle.... Quickly father grabbed my one hand and Lajos the other. Together we continued the race around the pit of death.

In his breathless telling, Mermelstein successfully resists the pit's hypnotic lure, and withstands as well the danger of being shot, struck or bitten. He also avoids being driven into the flames after he has been knocked down near the edge of the pit by "the oncoming crowd." Regaining his feet, he is able to join hands with his father and brother as they whirl about the pit, and to discuss a daring plan with a friend who has foresightedly concealed a straight razor on his naked person: in succession, each will kill a Nazi, slit his own wrist, then hand the razor on to another inmate. "Mad words, yet under the circumstances, reasonable enough," mulls autobiographer Mermelstein.

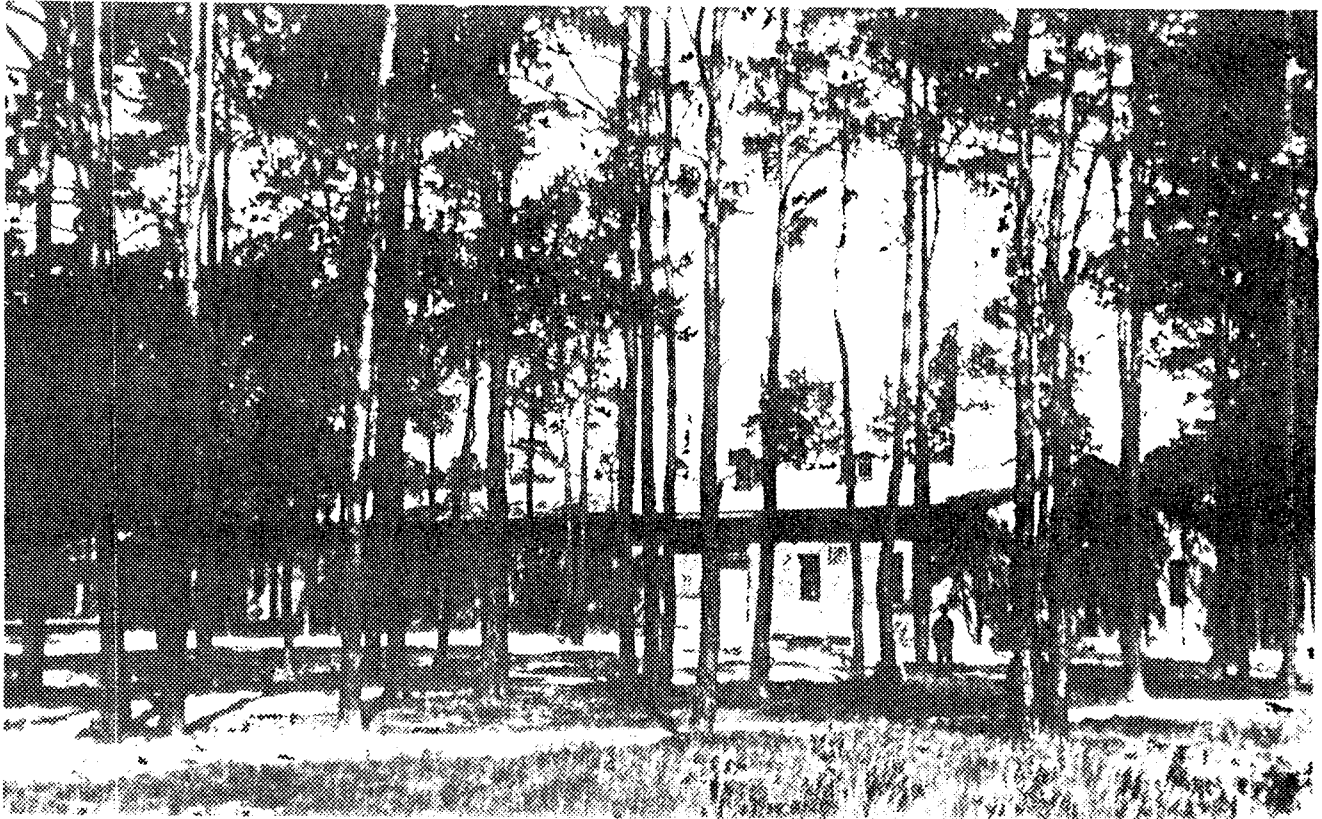
Just then, however, the SS fiends flail their whips, shouting, "Back to the barracks! Back to the barracks!" Many years later, in *By Bread Alone*, Mermelstein will wonder, with Talmudic acuity, whence and why the phantasmagoria at the pit. The most charitable explanation is doubtless raised by his final musing: "Or was it just an aberration of a demented mind?"

'Special Detail' Confusion

In an article published in early 1987 in the *New York Post*, Edward Koch, at that time mayor of New York City, recounted his meeting with Mermelstein at Auschwitz a short time before. The mayor quoted Mermelstein: "I was part of a special detail which hauled the bodies from the gas chamber and took them to the crematorium."³⁹

This astonishing claim contradicts virtually every other statement Mermelstein has made about his time at Auschwitz-Birkenau, where he claims to have spent a couple of days, and at the main Auschwitz camp (*Stammlager*), where he says he spent six weeks or so. In all other available accounts, he claims not to have done any noteworthy work. In his 1967 statement to the Auschwitz Museum authorities, for example, he said: "During my six week stay in the Auschwitz camp I was not working."⁴⁰ In his 1969 declaration given in Los Angeles, he said he had "no duties" there.⁴¹ And in his May 1981 deposition, he said that at Auschwitz and Birkenau he had done "practically nothing... just some detail work" and "no physical work."⁴²

On November 1, 1989, attorney Mark Lane questioned Mermelstein about these flagrant discrepancies. It is safe to say that this "eyewitness" has never been subjected before or since to such a dogged grilling, nor perhaps has any other self-professed Holocaust witness. The end result of several dozen pages



Crematory building No. 5 (Krema V) in Birkenau. Mel Mermelstein has repeatedly claimed to have witnessed his mother and sisters being driven into a “tunnel” to a “gas chamber” here. In fact, this structure is entirely above ground, and has no “tunnel.” Because it was surrounded by trees, it was called the “forest crematory.” (From: *Auschwitz Chronicle* [1990], p. 368).

of question and answer was, not, as one could expect, elucidation, but rather contradiction heaped on contradiction, all devastating to Mermelstein’s credibility: he did and he didn’t drag bodies; there may have been bodies in the clothes that he dragged to open pits; he might have but probably didn’t drag bodies from the gas chambers.⁴³

“Did you say those things to Mayor Koch?,” he was asked. “No, not quite,” answered Mermelstein. Under prodding, he added, “Well, I was in a special detail there, yes, close to the pits, next to the — those open pits ... But we hauled not only bodies but clothes, whatever, dragging them into the pits.”

Q. Are you telling me that you do not recall if you hauled bodies from the gas chamber?

A. Not [*sic*] — I saw too much.

A moment later:

Q. Is it your testimony that you don’t remember whether or not you hauled bodies from the gas chamber?

A. I don’t remember. Okay? I don’t know specifically the way you put it. Okay? But I know I

was there.

A frustrated Lane pressed on:

Q. I’m asking you if you were part of a special detail and if part of your obligation on the special detail was in any way related to the gas chamber.

A. No, not specifically.

Trying to untangle himself, Mermelstein declares:

To be part of a special detail, and that was, from time to time, you were pulled to do different things. There were days when we dragged — just looked like — it looked like a heap of clothes. And within these clothes, probably — and it was to have been dropped into the pits. Within those clothes and other items may have been some bodies as well.

Spoken like a real eyewitness. According to Mermelstein, his embarrassment springs from having seen too much, not too little. When, under challenge,

his memory seems to fail him, it is enough that he was there.

More Phony 'Evidence'

Mermelstein is not above simply inventing historical evidence. In a 1981 newspaper interview he said:⁴⁴

Goebbels reassured Hitler he ought not to worry about the consequences of the Final Solution of "the Jewish question," ... Goebbels said to Hitler that because of the way the Germans were doing it — luring the Jews into gas chambers disguised as shower rooms — what the Germans were doing was so inconceivable, it will be unbelievable. The civilized world will simply dismiss it as a hoax.

In fact, there is not a scrap of evidence that Goebbels, or anyone else, ever said any such thing to Hitler.

In *By Bread Alone* (pp. 120-121) Mermelstein provides a two-page photograph showing the interior of a large room, which he describes in the caption: "The interior section of one of the five gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Note the pipes and shower heads above."

This is demonstrably untrue. First, this photo was not taken at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Rather, it shows the interior of a room in the Auschwitz I (main) camp, several kilometers away. Second, although this room has been displayed for years to tourists as a "gas chamber" in its "original state," it is actually a fraudulent postwar reconstruction. This fact is now widely and authoritatively acknowledged.⁴⁵ Third, although electrical wiring and light fixtures are visible in the photo, "pipes and shower heads" are not.

Also in his book, Mermelstein emphatically endorses figures of Auschwitz deaths that are now thoroughly discredited. At one point he calls Auschwitz "the graveyard of four million human beings, of which ninety per cent were Jews, and a million little children." On another page he refers to Auschwitz as the place "where 4 million Jews died."⁴⁶ Although the four million figure of Auschwitz deaths was endorsed at the Nuremberg Tribunal, and affirmed for decades by government officials and prominent historians, today no serious historian supports it. (In July 1990 the Auschwitz State Museum in Poland and Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust Center announced that altogether perhaps one million people, both Jews and non-Jews, died there, of all causes.)⁴⁷

In a grotesque and fanciful scene spectacle conjured up during a 1981 legal deposition (but one he failed to mention in his 1979 memoir), Mermelstein

claimed to have seen babies tossed into pits, where they were burned.⁴⁸

Either out of ignorance or malice, Mermelstein misrepresents the views of revisionists. In a letter published in 1980 in the *Jerusalem Post*, he writes that "these gentlemen" of the Institute for Historical Review "are teaching our new generation that the chimneys of Auschwitz were only those of the bakeries." This is absurd, of course, as even the most cursory examination of revisionist scholarship reveals.⁴⁹

Mermelstein writes in his book of the well-known 1944 report about Auschwitz produced by Alfred Wetzler and Rudolf Vrba (Walter Rosenberg). He describes (p. 108) them as

two brave Slovakian Jews who made a daring escape from the death camps of Auschwitz-Birkenau. It was they who took it upon themselves to inform the Slovakian Jewish community, as well as the Hungarian Jewish community, what fate is awaiting them at Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1944.

"However," Mermelstein goes on to write, "none would listen to these two brave and courageous young fighters."⁵⁰

Not true. Already in 1942, 1943 and 1944, American and British newspapers and government officials repeatedly publicized claims that the Germans were systematically exterminating European Jewry. The US government's War Refugee Board (WRB) published the Vrba-Wetzler report in November 1944, shortly after receiving it. Newspapers in the United States, Switzerland, and other countries gave prominent coverage to the report's sensational claims of systematic mass killing of Jews in gas chambers at Auschwitz.⁵¹

'Human Soap'

Mermelstein is also certain that the Germans manufactured bars of soap from the bodies of murdered Jews. During his May 1981 deposition, he was questioned on this point:⁵²

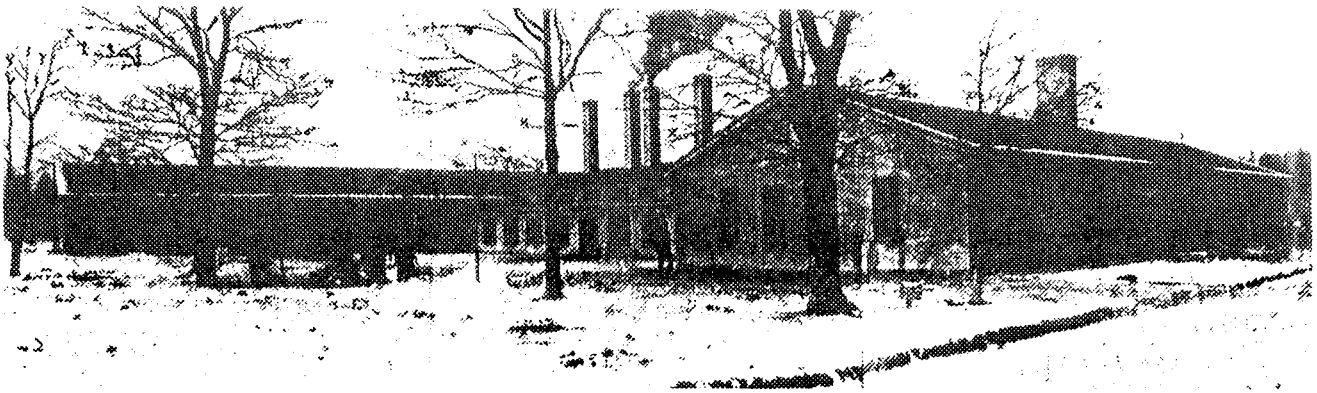
Q. Did you ever see any of that soap allegedly made from the bodies or fats of Jews?

A. That's what we were ordered to use in the death camps.

Q. Was there some sort of insignia or initial on that soap?

A. I don't remember that. All I remember was the color of it was yellowish, and we knew that it was made out of humans. Yes.

Q. You heard it from other inmates; is that right? There was a rumor floating around the camp that the soap was made from Jewish bod-



The "Sauna" center at Birkenau, where newly arrived detainees were cleaned and deloused. Note the smoking chimneys. (From: *Auschwitz Chronicle* [1990], p. 181)

ies; is that correct?

A. That's correct. That was not a rumor, it was an established fact.

Mermelstein seems incapable of distinguishing between rumor and "established fact." In truth, the "Jewish soap" story is a wartime propaganda claim that no serious historian now accepts. In 1990 it was formally repudiated by Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust center.⁵³

Correcting the Historical Record

Revisionists from Paul Rassinier onward have discerned a pattern among "survivor witnesses" of warping reality in favor of rumor, allegation and libel. As one Jewish historian, who was himself interned in the Kaunas ghetto during the war, has noted:⁵⁴

Most of the memoirs and reports [of Holocaust survivors] are full of preposterous verbosity, graphomantic exaggeration, dramatic effects, overestimated self-inflation, dilettante philosophizing, would-be lyricism, unchecked rumors, bias, partisan attacks and apologies.

Mel Mermelstein has proven himself to be no exception to this pattern. This man whom responsible public officials and many in the media are eager to praise as a truthful and reliable Holocaust witness is in fact, as Bradley Smith has written, a "demonstrable fraud." Any intelligent and open-minded person can confirm for himself the many contradictions, exaggerations and absurdities detailed here.

And whereas today in Germany and some other countries skepticism toward the Holocaust story is forbidden by law, nowhere is it illegal to make the sort of slanderous accusations fabricated by such "witnesses" as Mermelstein, against Germans and others, whether as individuals or as a nation.

Far more culpable than Mermelstein himself are those who, either through uncritical silence or overt action, contribute to his fraud, and thereby to the corruption of our political and social life.

From the mass of evidence we studied, we learned that Mermelstein is simply not a credible witness to gassings at Auschwitz, or to much else involving the German camps and the wartime treatment of Jews. If anything, a close scrutiny of his statements suggests further reason to be skeptical of the gassing story and other claims.

The Institute for Historical Review has never desired nor sought to belittle the losses Mel Mermelstein suffered during the Second World War — and those of us who worked on this case suspect that they were considerable. As conscientious revisionists, however, we believe that historical truth must be pursued and embraced, regardless of consequences. In exposing Mermelstein's deceit, we can say, with some pride, that it has done its duty.

Notes

1. Myrna Oliver, "Holocaust Doubters Settle Auschwitz Survivor's Suit," *Los Angeles Times*, July 25, 1985, pp. 1, 26; "Report on Settlement of Mermelstein vs. IHR, et al.," *IHR Newsletter*, August 1985, pp. 1-7; "Survivor Must Get Reward" (UPI), *The Washington Post*, July 25, 1985; "The Holocaust, Proved," *The New York Times*, editorial, July 29, 1985.
2. See Tom Marcellus' review of "Never Forget" in the Summer 1991 *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 229-238; J. J. O'Connor, "Certifying the Holocaust's Horrors," *The New York Times*, April 8, 1991; *TV Guide* (Washington-Baltimore ed.), week of April 6-12, 1991, p. 38; M. Pinsky, "Roadshow Paves the TV Airwaves for 'Never Forget,'" *Los Angeles Times* (OC ed.), April 5, 1991; M. Zad, "Cable Links" column, *The Washington Post*, Sunday "TV Week" supplement, April 7, 1991, p. 5; M. Pinsky, "Rescuing the Memory of the Holocaust," *Los Angeles Times*, December 28, 1990.
3. "How the Press Invites Anti-Semitism," Sept. 1985

IHR Newsletter, pp. 3-4; See also "Mermelstein Trial to Begin August 9," *IHR Newsletter*, July-August 1991, pp. 1-2, 4.

4. Theodore J. O'Keefe, "Best Witness: Mel Mermelstein, Auschwitz and the IHR," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 1), pp. 25-32. Based on O'Keefe's presentation at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992.
5. For example, whereas the *Los Angeles Times* gave sympathetic front page coverage to Mermelstein's 1985 courtroom victory, this same paper's total coverage of the Institute's 1991 victory against Mermelstein was a short inside item that appeared only in its Orange County edition. See: M. Pinsky, "Doubters of Holocaust Win a Round in Court," *Los Angeles Times*, Orange County ed., September 25, 1991, p. B9.
6. Mermelstein declaration of December 18, 1980, offered in connection with IHR claim, and published in facsimile in the 1981 edition of *By Bread Alone*, pp. 276-278.
7. Mel Mermelstein's autobiography, *By Bread Alone: The Story of A-4685*, was first published in 1979 (Los Angeles: Crescent Publications). The second edition was published in 1981 by his "Auschwitz Study Foundation" of Huntington Beach, California (xvi+290 pages).
8. See: "A Holocaust Survivor Keeps on Fighting," *Newsweek*, July 23, 1984; "Debunkers' of Holocaust Linked to Right-Wing Extremists," *Los Angeles Times*, May 3, 1981; R. Lindsey, "Auschwitz Survivor Sues for Prize For Proving Germans Gassed Jews," *New York Times*, March 11, 1981; D. Haldane, "Holocaust Survivor and Historian Meets Push With Shove Once More," *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 12, 1988.
9. M. Pinsky, "An Unforgettable TV Movie," *Los Angeles Times* (OC ed.), October 4, 1990, p. F2.
10. "Nazi camp survivor honored by Assembly" (AP), *Press-Telegram*, April 20, 1982.
11. Although Mermelstein contends (in *By Bread Alone*, p. 243) that "the Jewish population of Munkacs had been annihilated," we found

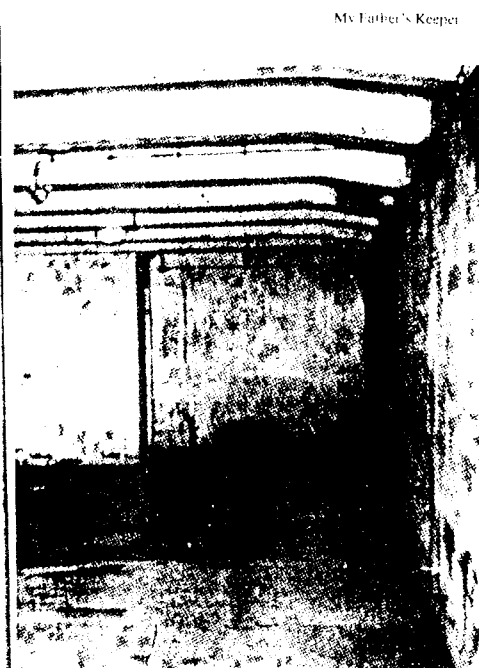
tantalizing but unconfirmed evidence that large numbers of Jews from Munkacs survived the war.

12. The ITS letter (reproduced in *By Bread Alone*, pp. vii-viii) informed Mermelstein that it had no information about his father and brother, whom Mermelstein has claimed died in or around subcamps of Auschwitz. The letter makes no mention of the female Mermelsteins.
13. The information in this paragraph is based on the following sources: Documents from the records of the Buchenwald camp, reproduced in facsimile in M. Mermelstein's *By Bread Alone* (1981), pp. 184-188; letter to Mermelstein from the International Tracing Service (Arolsen, Germany), Sept. 3, 1971, reproduced in *By Bread Alone*, pp. vii-viii; Mel Mermelstein interrogation protocol ("Vernehmungs niederschrift"), given at the German General Consulate, Los Angeles, November 13, 1969. A copy of this German-language declaration is in the Auschwitz State Museum (PMO) archives, filed under: Zespól "Oswiadczenia," Vol. 68, pp. 183-192 (Nr. inw. 156642); Danuta Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle: 1939-1945* (London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 1990), p. 630; M. Mermelstein, *By Bread Alone*, pp. vii, 1-3, 93-130, 184.
14. For example, in none of the following pre-1979 arti-



The interior section of one of the five gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Note the pipes and shower heads above. We will never really know what transpired at this last station. Some of the SS guards assigned to the (Sonderkommando) disposal squads gave reports after their capture and interrogation as to how many so willingly marched into the chambers because in essence they

[20]



believed that they were going to take a shower, but others who resisted as they were pulled aside and shot. There are no photographs of the millions of mothers who were ordered to undress their children to take that last shower. We are spared that agony. We will never know what happened inside the gas chambers. We can only guess.

[21]

In his memoir, *By Bread Alone*, Mel Mermelstein reproduces this photograph showing the inside of a large room, which he describes as "the interior section of one of the five gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Note the pipes and shower heads above." Although this room, located in the Auschwitz I main camp, has been shown for years to tourists as a "gas chamber" in its "original state," it is actually a fraudulent postwar reconstruction. Although electrical wiring and light fixtures are visible in the photo, "pipes and shower heads" are not.

- cles is there any mention by Mermelstein that he personally saw his mother and sisters, or anyone, led to gas chambers: B. Altman, "Auschwitz survivor maintaining his vow," Long Beach (Calif.) *Independent/Press-Telegram*, July 9, 1977, p. C1; K. Sherman, "Holocaust exhibit chills most viewers," Long Beach (Calif.) *Independent/Press-Telegram*, Oct. 3, 1978; S. Karl, "Survivor of Auschwitz says it could happen again," *Daily Forty-Niner* (California State University Long Beach), Oct. 11, 1976, p. 1; P. Kennedy, "L.B. survivor of Auschwitz finds 'Holocaust' real," *Daily Forty-Niner* (CSU Long Beach), April 19, 1978.
15. Likewise, in neither his October 23, 1967, PMO declaration, or in his 1969 German Consulate declaration, does he make any mention of having seen his mother and sisters, or anyone, enter a gas chamber.
 16. M. Mermelstein, *By Bread Alone*, pp. 240-241. Mermelstein also relates, p. 238, that as he returned to his home town after the end of the war, "I was sure that when I reached the house and opened the door, Father, Mother, Etu, Lajos and Magda would all be there, as before, waiting for me."
 17. M. Mermelstein letter, "Invitation to the doubters," Long Beach (Calif.) *Independent/Press-Telegram*, July 29, 1980; during his deposition of May 27, 1981 (transcript, p. 46), he claimed to have witnessed them enter the "gas chamber" from "40, 50 feet" away.
 18. Mermelstein declaration of December 18, 1980, published in facsimile in the 1981 edition of *By Bread Alone*, pp. 276-278.
 19. Interrogatory of Mel Mermelstein, July 21, 1981. Response to question No. 26.
 20. Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994, with the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC), pp. 168, 172, 173. See also: Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: B. Klarsfeld, 1989).
Mermelstein's testimony about "Gas Chamber No. 5" is also difficult to accept because crematory facility (Krema) V (as well as Krema IV) had been shut down in 1943 — months before he claimed to have seen it in operation. See the essay by J.-C. Pressac, with Robert-Jan van Pelt, in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (1994), pp. 236, 237, 238, and p. 173. See also: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, pp. 413, 420.
For additional reasons why this building or facility could not possibly have served as an extermination facility, see the review by M. Weber of Pressac's 1989 book in the *Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1990, pp. 235-236. See also: M. Weber, "Legal Declaration," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1982, pp. 31-46.
 21. D. Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle: 1939-1945* (1990), p. 368.
 22. D. Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle* (1990), p. 5; John Ball, *The Ball Report* (Canada: 1993; 16 pp.), pp. 4, 5.
 23. Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (1994), p. 31.
 24. Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (New York: 1981), p. 210 (and pp. 211, 220). See also: D. Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle* (1990), pp. 629, 630.
 25. See, for example: E. Kogon, et al., *Nazi Mass Murder* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1994), p. 172; Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz: Die Technik des Massenmordes* (München: Piper, 1994), pp. 198-199.
 26. M. Weber, "Pages from the Auschwitz Death Registry Volumes," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1992, pp. 265-268; The semi-official Auschwitz "Kalendarium" reports that an unknown number of Jewish arrivals were admitted as unregistered "depot prisoners," and that some of these were sent from Birkenau to other camps for war work. See: Danuta Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle* (1990), pp. 628, 629, 630, 633, 636, 641, 643, 655, and others.
 27. T. O'Keefe, "Best Witness," *Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1994, p. 30.
 28. List of 500 Jewish Female detainees transferred from Auschwitz to Buchenwald/Altenburg, October 12, 1944, *Überstellung 500 Jüdinen Schutzhaftlingen aus Auschwitz*. Auschwitz State Museum (PMO) Archives. Sygn. D-Bu-3/2a, Nr. inw. 163105.
 29. Particularly in the case of "Magda Mermelstein," the two different dates, when typed numerically in order of day, month, and year — the German fashion used in the concentration camps — are susceptible to confusion, "17.5.26" and "12.6.28," by someone with defective eyesight, under poor lighting, and so forth. Perhaps whoever compiled the list misunderstood the birth dates given by the sisters. Anyway, given Mermelstein's frailties of memory, there is no reason to give his statement regarding their birth dates any special weight.
 30. We examined a letter from the Auschwitz Museum (PMO) to Tjjudar Rudolph, April 26, 1991 (No. IV-8521/2221-2227/91), listing available records on certain Mermelsteins, as well as a letter from the Museum to the Polish Historical Society of Stamford, Conn., September 4, 1991 (No. IV-8520-107/4104-5/910), listing all Mermelsteins supposedly in the Museum's records.
In this September 4, 1991, letter the names of Edith and Magda Mermelstein are to be found — in fact three Magdas and two Ediths — but none has a birth date matching that given by Mermelstein for his sisters. The names and birth dates of two of these women do, however, match those of the Edith and Magda Mermelstein of the October 1944 SS (Altenburg) transfer list. Their birthplace is given as "Szolyva," Hungarian for a Carpatho-Ukraine town also known as Svalyava that is about ten miles distant from Munkacs/Mukhachevo.
 31. M. Mermelstein, *By Bread Alone*, pp. 173, 194-195. We shall pass over the one or two instances in which

- Mermelstein, quoted in the press or speaking heatedly in deposition, says his father was gassed at Auschwitz. For example, Mermelstein is quoted in a 1981 issue of a Los Angeles daily paper as saying: "They [the revisionists] are inferring that Jews were not killed in the gas chambers, that I did not see with my own eyes my mother and father and sisters led off to the gas chambers." (Source: T. Carlson, "The \$50,000 challenge: Prove Holocaust really happened," Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner*, Feb. 15, 1981, p. B-8).
32. Mel Mermelstein interrogation protocol ("Vernehmungsniederschrift"), given at the German General Consulate, Los Angeles, November 13, 1969, p. 9, para. 2. A copy of this German-language declaration is in the Auschwitz State Museum (PMO) archives, filed under: Zespol "Oswiadczenia," Vol. 68, pp. 183-192 (Nr. inw. 156642).
 33. Interestingly enough, Mermelstein claims in *By Bread Alone* (p. 242) that on his brief return to Munkacs after the war's end he met with a number of men who had been with his father and brother at the Jaworzno camp, although evidently none supplied particulars clarifying their fate.
The Auschwitz records obtained by IHR include no reference to a Fani Mermelstein born in 1900 (Mel's mother). As already mentioned, inquiries to Auschwitz (by IHR) and to Arolsen (by Mermelstein) have yielded, so far as could be discovered, only such names and data as were supplied by Mermelstein.
 34. M. Mermelstein, *By Bread Alone*, pp. 140-142, 146.
 35. Mag. Irena Strzelecka, "Arbeitslager Gleiwitz I," *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Nr. 14 (Oswiecim [Poland]: Verlag Staatliches Auschwitz-Museum, 1973). See especially pages 86, 92, 95, 98, 106, 188.
 36. Deposition of Mel Mermelstein, October 23, 1967, p. 5. A copy of this Polish-language deposition is in the Auschwitz State Museum (PMO) archives, filed under: Zespol "Oswiadczenia," Vol. 57, pp. 14-20. (An English-language translation is in the IHR archives.)
 37. See also: M. Weber, "Buchenwald: Legend and Reality," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-87, pp. 405-417.
 38. The Communist-run "International Auschwitz Committee" of Warsaw assisted "Comrade Mermelstein" in his legal fight against the IHR. See: *Information Bulletin* of the International Auschwitz Committee, Feb. 1981, quoted in *IHR Newsletter*, Oct.-Nov. 1981 p. 1, and, *Information Bulletin* (Intl. Auschwitz Comm.), July-August 1981, quoted in *IHR Newsletter*, June 1982, p. 5.
 39. E. Koch, "A Wall in Auschwitz," *New York Post*, February 9, 1987, p. 19, and, E. Koch, "Auschwitz Still Haunting the World," *Staten Island (New York) Advance*, February 23, 1987, pp. A1, A10.
 40. Deposition of Mel Mermelstein, Oct. 23, 1967, p. 1. A copy is in the Auschwitz PMO archives.
 41. Mermelstein interrogation protocol, given at the German General Consulate, Los Angeles, November 13, 1969, p. 1. ("keine Beschäftigung").
 42. Mermelstein deposition, May 27, 1981, Los Angeles, transcript pp. 68, 77.
 43. Deposition of Mel Mermelstein, November 1, 1989, reported by S. K. Farwell, in the case of M. Mermelstein vs. LSF, IHR, Liberty Lobby, et al. (2nd case), transcript pages 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 207.
 44. T. Carlson, "The \$50,000 challenge: Prove Holocaust really happened," Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner*, Feb. 15, 1981, pp. A-1, B-8.
 45. "Major French Magazine Acknowledges Auschwitz Gas Chamber Fraud," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1995, pp. 23-24; see also: G. Raven, "Dramatic new Videotape Presentation Takes Aim at Key Holocaust Claim," *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1993, pp. 8-13.
 46. M. Mermelstein, *By Bread Alone*, pp. 123, 267.
 47. "Auschwitz Deaths Reduced to a Million," *Daily Telegraph* (London), July 17, 1990; F. Piper, "The Number of Victims," in: Y. Gutman & M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (1994), p. 71; see also the comment by R. Faurisson in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1995, p. 24.
 48. Mermelstein deposition, May 27, 1981, Los Angeles, transcript pp. 188, 189.; This repulsive allegation has also been made by such poetic liars as Elie Wiesel. See: E. Wiesel, *Night* (New York: Discus/Avon books, 1969), pp. 41, 42, 43, 44, 79, 93.
 49. Letter in the *Jerusalem Post*, intl. ed., August 24-30, 1980. Facsimile in the second, 1981 edition of Mermelstein's *By Bread Alone*, p. 270.
 50. M. Mermelstein, *By Bread Alone*, p. 108. Likewise, on page 86 he castigates the leaders of the wartime Allied coalition — Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin — for their supposed indifference to the destruction of Europe's Jews.
 51. See, for example, Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (1981), pp. 328-329. See also the detailed discussion of the WRB (Vrba-Wetzler) report in A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. Regarding the testimony of Rudolf Vrba in the 1985 Zündel trial in Toronto, see the remarks by R. Faurisson in the Winter 1988-89 *Journal*, pp. 420-421.
 52. Mermelstein deposition, May 27, 1981, Los Angeles, transcript p. 40.
 53. M. Weber, "Jewish Soap," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991, pp. 217-227.
 54. Samuel Gringauz in *Jewish Social Studies* (New York), January 1950, Vol. 12, p. 65.

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Auschwitz: Facts and Legend

ROBERT FAURISSON

At the beginning of 1940, Auschwitz was no more than a town of 13,000 population in German Upper Silesia. Then, in May of 1940, on the outskirts of Auschwitz, construction of a "transit camp" for 10,000 Polish prisoners was begun at the site of a former artillery barracks of the Polish army.

In the years that followed, and with the worsening of the war, Auschwitz thereupon became the center of a complex of nearly 40 camps and subsidiary camps, as well as the capital of a vast agricultural and industrial complex (including mines, petrochemical works, and munitions factories) where numerous prisoners, particularly Polish and Jewish prisoners, worked side by side with civilian workers. At the same time, or successively, Auschwitz was a prisoner-of-war camp, an important transit camp, a hospital camp, a concentration camp, and a camp of both forced and free laborers. It was never an "extermination camp" (a term invented by the Allies).

However, typhus, which was endemic in the population of Polish Jews and Russian prisoners of war, along with typhoid fever and other epidemics, wrought havoc within the concentration camp population, both in the camps proper and in the town of Auschwitz, even among the German physicians and the civilian population. And this in spite of drastic hygienic measures and a multiplicity of hospital buildings and facilities, equipped at times with the latest in German medical science. Thus it came about that over the total period of the camp's existence — that is, from May 20, 1940 to January 18,

Robert Faurisson is Europe's leading Holocaust revisionist scholar. He was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. After years of private research and study, Dr. Faurisson first made public his skeptical views about the Holocaust extermination story in articles published in 1978 and 1979 in the French daily *Le Monde*. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in two books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have been published in this *Journal*.

This essay was originally written in early 1995 for *El Mundo*, a leading Spanish newspaper. However, after the text had been authorized, translated into Spanish, and set in type, the newspaper suddenly decided not to publish it.

1945 — the epidemics, in combination to be sure with the terrible working conditions in that marshy area, and with hunger, heat and cold, led to the death of probably 150,000 prisoners.¹

The Auschwitz Rumor

As is usual in time of war and in wartime propaganda, many rumors sprang up in the wake of these tragic events. Above all toward the end of the war, and especially in Jewish circles outside of Poland, people began to spread tales to the effect that in Auschwitz the Germans were killing millions of prisoners systematically on orders from Berlin. According to these rumors, the Nazis had installed "death factories" for the Jews in particular; that they were dissecting prisoners alive (vivisection), or else burning them alive (in pits, in blast furnaces, or in crematories); or that, before burning them, they were gassing the Jews in chemical slaughterhouses called "gas chambers." Here were revived some of the myths of the First World War.²

The Quandary of the Soviet Liberators

Soviet forces occupied Auschwitz on January 27, 1945. What they found there was so contrary to what had been spread by propaganda that one may imagine they were left with mouths agape. Alone in its organization and in its sanitary facilities, so modern in the eyes of the Soviets, the camp was the complete opposite of an "extermination camp." Consequently, for several days the leading Soviet daily *Pravda* remained silent, and, for the moment, no Allied commission of inquiry was invited to determine, on the spot, the truth of Auschwitz. On the 1st of February, *Pravda* broke its silence, but only to put the following words in the mouth of a single prisoner:

The Hitlerites killed the children and the ill by means of gas, as well as the men and women who were unfit for work. They cremated the cadavers in special furnaces. There were twelve of these furnaces in the camp.

The official Soviet paper added that the number of deaths was reckoned at "thousands and thousands" (not millions). The next day, *Pravda's* chief

reporter, Jewish journalist Boris Polevoi, affirmed that the main method used by the Germans to exterminate their victims was ... electricity.³

[They utilized] an electric conveyor belt on which hundreds of persons could be electrocuted simultaneously; the dead bodies would then fall on to a belt driven slowly by a chain and in this way move on into a blast furnace.

Soviet propaganda was in disarray, and in its newsreels could show only the dead or dying whom the Germans had left behind in their retreat. And, as contemporary newsreels of the camp's liberation reveal, there were also numerous live children, as well as adults in good health. Jewish propaganda then came to the aid of Soviet propaganda.

Jewish Propaganda at the End of 1944

In the spring of 1944, two Jewish escapees from Auschwitz had found refuge in Slovakia. There, with the aid of co-religionists, they began to put together a history of Auschwitz, Birkenau (subsidiary camp of Auschwitz), and Majdanek, three camps they described as "extermination camps." The best known of these Jews was Walter Rosenberg, alias Rudolf Vrba, who is still alive today, residing in British Columbia, Canada. Their highly fanciful story then spread, always by way of Jewish circles, into Hungary, Switzerland, and finally to the United States. It took the form of a typewritten report published in the United States in November of 1944 by the War Refugee Board, under the official stamp of President Roosevelt. The War Refugee Board (WRB) owed its creation to Henry Morgenthau, Jr. (1891-1967), the Secretary of the Treasury who was later to become famous for the "Morgenthau Plan," which, had it been followed by Roosevelt and Truman, would have resulted in the physical annihilation, after the war, of millions of Germans.

The WRB report served as the model for the official "truth" concerning Auschwitz. The Soviets took it as a pattern for their own official Commission report of May 6, 1945, which the Nuremberg Tribunal deemed to have "probative value." Along with the Soviet Commission report on the Katyn massacre, the Tribunal took "judicial notice" of the Soviet report on Auschwitz, which meant that it could not be questioned. According to this report (Nuremberg document USSR-008), the Germans had killed more than four million people at Auschwitz, notably by gassing them with the insecticide known as "Zyklon B." This official "truth," at least regarding the number of victims, was to collapse in 1990.

The Confession of Rudolf Höss

On April 15, 1946, one of the three successive commanding officers of Auschwitz, Rudolf Höss (not to be confused with Rudolf Hess), "confessed" under oath before the Nuremberg judges and before reporters of the world press that during the time of his command, that is from May 20, 1940, to December 1, 1943, at least 2,500,000 prisoners in Auschwitz had been executed by gas, and that at least another 500,000 had died of famine and disease, thus making a total of at least 3,000,000 deaths during that period alone.⁴ But

not for a moment was Höss interrogated or cross-examined on the material specifics of the extraordinary facts he reported.

After testifying at Nuremberg, he was turned over to the Poles. Under the supervision of his Communist jailers, he wrote a

penciled confession in due and proper form, after which he was hanged at Auschwitz on April 16, 1947. Curiously, it was not until 1958 that a portion of this confession was made public, under the title *Kommandant in Auschwitz*.⁵

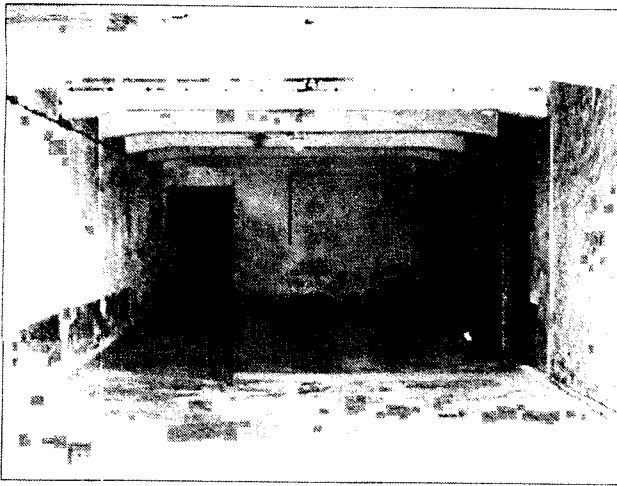


Robert Faurisson addresses the 12th IHR Conference, 1994.

Physical-Chemical Impossibilities

The extremely vague and hurried description of the operation of gassing prisoners, as provided by Höss in his written confession, is impossible for both physical and chemical reasons. An execution gassing is not to be confused with a suicidal or accidental gassing: in an execution gassing, the aim is to kill without being killed or poisoned.

Zyklon B is an insecticide with a hydrocyanic acid base that has been widely used since 1922, and is still in use today. It is extremely dangerous. It adheres to surfaces. It is difficult to dispel. It is explosive. In a few states in the USA, hydrogen cyanide gas is used to execute prisoners who have been condemned to death. An execution gas chamber is



For decades this room in the Auschwitz I camp has been shown to tens of thousands of tourists yearly as an execution "gas chamber" in its "original state." In January 1995 the prominent French weekly *L'Express* acknowledged that "everything is false" about this "gas chamber," which is actually a postwar reconstruction.

necessarily very sophisticated, and the procedure is protracted and dangerous. But in his confession, Höss said that the work crew charged with removing 2,000 corpses at a time from a gas chamber entered the area as soon as a ventilator had been turned on, and set about their Herculean task while eating and smoking; that is to say, if we understand correctly, without even a gas mask. Impossible. No one could have gone into an ocean of hydrocyanic acid like that and handled thousands of cyanide-contaminated corpses, which were untouchable because they were impregnated with a highly lethal poison that can kill on contact. The task would have been impossible, even using gas masks with a special filter for hydrogen cyanide, because the filters could not have stood up under the heavy breathing caused by a physical effort of even feeble intensity.

A Response by 34 Historians

In the issues of the French daily *Le Monde* of December 29, 1978, and of January 16, 1979, I briefly set forth the reasons why, knowing the locations and the alleged procedure followed, I considered that the Auschwitz gassings were technically impossible. On February 21, 1979, again in *Le Monde*, there appeared a declaration by 34 French historians that concluded as follows: "We need not ask ourselves how such a mass murder was *technically* possible. It was technically possible since it took place." In my opinion, the "exterminationists," as I call them, at that point signed their capitulation. From the point of view of science and of history, the myth of the Nazi gas chambers had received a

fatal blow. No exterminationist work since then (or before) has provided any explanation of the matter, most especially not the work by Jean-Claude Presnac that is fallaciously titled *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*.⁶ To begin with, the time is past when historians dare to claim authenticity for "gas chambers" at Auschwitz or elsewhere that are presented to tourists as being "in its original condition," "in a restored state," or "in a state of ruin" (ruins can be most eloquent). The alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz were simply cold rooms for the storage of cadavers awaiting cremation, just as the plans which I discovered in 1976 attest.

'Show Me or Draw Me ...'

In March of 1992, I issued a challenge in Stockholm directed to the world at large: "Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber!" I stated explicitly that I was not interested in a building reputed to contain such a gas chamber, nor in a section of a wall, nor in a door, nor in hair, nor in shoes. I wanted to see a complete representation of the weapon of the crime, of its technical specifications, of its operation. I added that, if it is alleged that the Germans had destroyed the weapon, then someone would have to make me a drawing of it. I refused to believe in a "material reality" devoid of any material representation.

The Holocaust Memorial Museum

On August 30, 1994, I visited the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. There I found no physical representation of the magical gas chamber. I then asked Michael Berenbaum, the Museum's Research Director, in the presence of four witnesses in his office, to explain this anomaly to me. After becoming violently angry, he finally replied that "the decision had been made not to present any physical representation of a Nazi gas chamber"! He did not bother to mention that in the Museum there was an artistic model of Birkenau's Crematory II, with its supposed "gas chamber." He knew that the model in question, which for that matter he didn't reproduce in his guide book of the Museum,⁷ was just an artistic creation that bore no relation to reality.

The Exterminationist Fiasco

On that occasion I reminded Berenbaum of some events that had been disastrous for the exterminationist cause:

In 1968, French-Jewish historian Olga Wormser-Migot acknowledged in her thesis that there was a "problem with the gas chambers." She also wrote that the Auschwitz I main camp was "without a gas chamber" (notwithstanding the "gas chamber" there

visited by millions of tourists).⁸

In 1983, a Britisher, even though he was a defender of the extermination legend, revealed how Rudolf Höss, prior to his testimony before the Nuremberg Tribunal, had been tortured by Jewish members of British Military Security, and had confessed only after being kicked and punched, exposed to cold and deprived of sleep.⁹

In 1985, at the first trial of Ernst Zündel in Toronto, both the number one prosecution witness, Rudolf Vrba, and the number one historian of the exterminationist thesis, Raul Hilberg, completely broke down under cross-examination by defense attorney Douglas Christie, with my assistance.¹⁰

In 1988, the American Jewish historian Arno Mayer, albeit while asserting his belief in the genocide and in the gas chambers, wrote: "Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable ... Besides, from 1942 to 1945, certainly at Auschwitz, but probably overall, more Jews were killed by so-called 'natural' causes [starvation, disease, sickness, and overwork] than by 'unnatural' ones."¹¹



Jean-Claude Pressac

(Jews and non-Jews) at a total of 775,000, and, then, in 1994, at a figure somewhere between 630,000 and 710,000.¹³

In that same year, Professor Christopher Browning, contributor to the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, stated: "Höss was always a very weak and confused witness." He then had the gall to add: "The revisionists use him all the time for this reason, in order to try to discredit the memory of Auschwitz as a whole."¹⁴

Until the beginning of 1990 any visitor to Auschwitz could see, inscribed in 19 different languages on 19 metal plaques on the large monument of Birkenau, words proclaiming that four million people had died in the camp. But around April of 1990 those plaques were removed by the Auschwitz

In 1992, Yehuda Bauer, a professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a prominent Holocaust historian, authoritatively reassessed the role of the well known "Wannsee Conference" of January 20, 1942. The often-repeated claim that the decision to exterminate the Jews was made at that meeting is "silly," he said.¹²

In 1993, Pressac estimated the number of deaths at Auschwitz



Elie Wiesel. In his autobiographical work, *Night*, he relates that in January 1945, as a prisoner at Auschwitz, he and his father were given the choice of remaining behind in the camp to await the imminent arrival of Soviet liberators, or to leave with their German captors. After discussing the matter, father and son decided to leave with their "exterminators."

Museum authorities, who still today do not know what figure to put in place of the numerical lie before which the world's most prominent figures, including Pope John Paul II, have come to bow their heads.

In support of their thesis, the revisionists have at their disposal the reports of three different experts (Fred Leuchter, Germar Rudolf, Walter Lüftl) and even the beginnings of a Polish expert's report, whereas the exterminationists still do not dare to seek an expert report on the alleged weapon of the crime.

The Jewish survivors of Auschwitz and, in particular, the "children of Auschwitz," that is, those who were born in the camp or who spent their early years there, are living proof that Auschwitz never could have been an "extermination camp."

Not only was there never any order, plan, or trace of any directive or budget for an undertaking as enormous as the systematic extermination of the Jews would have been, not only is there no autopsy report in existence establishing the death of even a single prisoner by poison gas, or an official expert's report on the weapon used in the crime, but (and despite what some authors of best sellers would have us believe) there is not even a single *witness* of

the gas chambers.

Elie Wiesel, in his autobiographical testimony *Night*, published in 1958, does not mention the gas chambers of Auschwitz even once. He says that the Jews were exterminated in huge fires or in crematory furnaces! In January of 1945, the Germans gave him, and his father as well, the choice of leaving for the heart of Germany with them or of waiting on the spot for the Soviets. After due consideration, the father and son decided to flee with their German "exterminators" rather than wait for their Soviet liberators. All this is clearly spelled out in *Night*, and needs only to be read with attention.¹⁵

The Auschwitz Lie

In 1980, I announced: "Now, please pay heed! Not one of the 60 [in French] words of the sentence I am going to pronounce is motivated by a political opinion: The alleged genocide of the Jews and the alleged Hitler gas chambers form one and the same historical lie that has permitted a gigantic political-financial swindle in which the principal beneficiaries are the State of Israel and international Zionism, and the principal victims the German people — but not their rulers — and the entire Palestinian people."

I do not see a single word in that declaration that I would withdraw today, in spite of the physical aggressions, in spite of the lawsuits, in spite the fines I have suffered since 1978, and in spite of the imprisonment, exile, or persecution of so many revisionists. Historical revisionism is the great intellectual adventure of the end of this century. I have but one regret: not being able, within the limits of this article, to find the needed space to render homage to the hundred other revisionist authors who, from the Frenchman Paul Rassinier on through the American Arthur Butz, the German Wilhelm Stäglich, the Italian Carlo Mattogno, and the Spaniard Enrique Aynat, have added so many works of striking merit to the historical reality of the Second World War.

One final word: the revisionists are neither deniers nor persons animated by sinister purposes. They seek to tell what has happened and not what has not happened. They are matter-of-fact. What they report is good news. They continue to propose a public debate in the full light of day, even though, up to now, they have been answered principally by insults, by violence, by the unjust force of the law, or else by vague political, moral, or philosophical considerations. Among historians, the legend of Auschwitz must give way to the factual truth.¹⁶

— January 11, 1995

The Daily Telegraph

ATROCITIES IN SERBIA.

700,000 VICTIMS.

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.

ROME, Monday (6 45 p.m.).

The Governments of the Allies have secured evidence and documents, which will shortly be published, proving that Austria and Bulgaria have been guilty of horrible crimes in Serbia, where the massacres committed were worse than those perpetrated by Turkey in Armenia.

The Italian Government has to-day published the testimony of two Italian prisoners who escaped from Austria through Serbia, and took refuge in Roumania. What these two prisoners saw and learned, however, was nothing compared with the evidence supplied by the Serbians themselves, and communicated by M. Pasich to the Italian Government and to the Pope. According to reliable information, the victims of the Austrians and Bulgarians exceeded 700,000. Whole districts, with towns and villages, have been depopulated by massacres. Women, children, and old men were shut up in the churches by the Austrians, and either stabbed with the bayonet or suffocated by means of asphyxiating gas. In one church in Belgrade 3,000 women, children, and old men were thus suffocated.

Serbian refugees, not on oath, have stated that they were present at a distribution of bombs and machines for producing asphyxiating gas to the Bulgarians by the Germans and Austrians, who instructed the former how to utilize these instruments to exterminate the Serbian population. The Bulgarians used this method at Nish, Pirot, Priezrad, and Negotin, the inhabitants of which places died of suffocation. Similar means were employed by the Austrians in several parts of Montenegro.

During the First World War, Allied propagandists charged that Austrians and Bulgarians (allies of Germany) killed Serb civilians by gassing them in churches. This article (facsimile) from the *London Daily Telegraph*, March 22, 1916, p. 7, tells readers that 3,000 women, children and old men were gassed in one church in Belgrade alone.

Notes

1. This figure of 150,000 deaths perhaps equals the number of those killed in what has been called the world's greatest "crematory for the living" — that of the bombing of Dresden, "Florence on the Elbe," in February 1945 by British and American airmen.
2. During the First World War the Allies accused the Germans of using churches as gas chambers and of

operating cadaver factories. On the first point, see "Atrocities in Serbia. 700,000 Victims," *The Daily Telegraph* (London), March 22, 1916, p. 7. This same paper reported similar charges during the Second World War. See: "Germans Murder 700,000 Jews in Poland. Travelling Gas Chambers," *The Daily Telegraph*, June 25, 1942, p. 5. (See also: R. Faurisson, "A Request for Additional Information on the Myth of the 'Gassing' of the Serbs in the First World War," Summer 1991 *Journal*, pp. 254-255.)

3. Report by B. Polevoi, *Pravda*, Feb. 2, 1945, p. 4. I first learned of this article while doing research in 1979 in the National Archives, Suitland (Maryland) branch, when I came across a brief report from the *Washington* (DC) *Daily News* of Feb. 2, 1945, pp. 2, 35 ("Ageless, Sexless Ghosts' Rescued From Murder Mill," United Press dispatch by Henry Shapiro from Moscow), which was based, more or less, on the *Pravda* article.
4. International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* (IMT "blue series"), Nuremberg: 1947-1949, Vol. 11, pp. 414-415.
5. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1958. To his shame, the person responsible for this publication was Martin Broszat.
6. Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989).
On the work of Pressac, see the reviews and critical responses that have appeared in this *Journal*: M. Weber in Vol. 10, No. 2 (Summer 1990), pp. 231 - 237; C. Mattogno in Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter 1990-91), pp. 461-485; R. Faurisson in Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 1991), pp. 25-66, and in Vol 11, No. 2 (Summer 1991), pp. 133-175; A. Butz in Vol. 13, No. 3, (May-June 1993), pp. 23-37; S. Thion in Vol. 14, No. 4 (July-August 1994), pp. 28-39.
7. M. Berenbaum, *The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust As Told in the US Holocaust Memorial Museum* (Boston: Little, 1993), pp. 137-143.
8. O. Wormser-Migot, *Le Système concentrationnaire nazi (1933-1945)* (Presses Universitaires de France, 1968), pp. 157, 541-545.
Eight days after this essay was written, the prominent French weekly *L'Express* acknowledged that, as Robert Faurisson had said "at the end of the 70s," "everything is false" about the Auschwitz I "gas chamber" that for decades has been shown to tens of thousands of tourists yearly. (See "Major French Magazine Acknowledges Auschwitz Gas Chamber Fraud," Jan.-Feb. 1995 *Journal*, p. 23.)
9. Rupert Butler, *Legions of Death* (London: Arrow, 1983), acknowledgments page and pp. 234-238.
10. Barbara Kulaszka, compiler and editor, *Did Six Million Really Die?: Report of the Evidence in the Canadian "False News" Trial of Ernst Zündel, 1988* (Toronto: Samisdat Publishers, 1992); see the index listings "Vrba, Rudolf" and "Hilberg, Raul."

11. Arno Mayer, *The "Final Solution" in History* (New York: Pantheon, 1988), pp. 362, 365.
12. "Wannsee's importance rejected," Jewish Telegraphic Agency dispatch, *The Canadian Jewish News*, January 30, 1992.
13. J.-C. Pressac, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz* (CNRS éditions, 1993), p. 148; J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (München: Piper Verlag, 1994), p. 202.
"From 600,000 to 800,000," wrote J.-C. Pressac in "La Technique des chambres à gaz," an article included in *La Déportation: Le Système concentrationnaire nazi*, a book published under the direction of François Bédarida (BDIC: 1995), p. 196.
14. Christopher Hitchens, "Whose History is It?," *Vanity Fair* (New York), December 1993, p. 117.
15. E. Wiesel, *Night* (Avon/Discus pb. edition), pp. 41, 42, 43, 44, 79, 93. (French edition: *La Nuit*, éditions de Minuit, 1958, pp. 128-130). In the German edition (*Die Nacht zu begraben, Elischa* [Ullstein, 1962]), the word "crematory," "crematories" or "crematory ovens" has been systematically replaced with the term "gas chamber" or "gas chambers" (in German: *Gaskammer[n]*).
Embarrassed about the gas chambers, Wiesel wrote in his 1994 memoir: "Let the gas chambers remain closed to prying eyes, and to imagination." English-language version: *All Rivers Run to the Sea* (New York: Knopf, 1995), p. 74. The words that follow show that Wiesel does not believe the "testimonies" of Filip Müller and others like him who, supposedly, have described what happened in the gas chambers.
16. For revisionist publications in French, contact RHR (BP 122, 92704 Colombes Cedex), and for those in English or in German, contact Samisdat Publishers (206 Carlton St., Toronto, Ont. M5A 2L1, Canada) or the Institute for Historical Review.

Corrections:

In the July-August 1995 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*, there is an error in footnote 28 on page 7. The letter cited from the *Los Angeles Times*, July 27, 1995, was actually written by Richard M. Walden of Los Angeles.

In the May-June 1997 *Journal*, p. 33, we reported on a statement by 21 Italian scholars defending freedom of speech and of historical research on the Holocaust issue. This statement was published in the Turin daily paper *La Stampa* of March 1, 1995 (not 1996).

"In showing concern for future one must regard the past with reverence and the present with mistrust."

— Joseph Joubert (1754-1824), French philosopher

Another Look at the 'Vergasungskeller' Question

The Nagging 'Gassing Cellar' Problem

ARTHUR R. BUTZ

Veteran revisionists recognize that an outstanding small problem has been the "Vergasungskeller" that evidently was in or near the Crematorium II structure at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Crematorium II (and its mirror image Crematorium III) had two large underground morgues, *Leichenkeller* 1 (LK 1) and LK 2, and a smaller morgue, LK 3. LK 1 and LK 2 were simple concrete morgues in which bodies were simply laid on the floor. A letter from the Auschwitz construction department dated January 29, 1943, when the construction of Crematorium II was nearing completion, reports that frost prohibits removal of the formwork for the ceiling of the "Leichenkeller" (without specifying which of the three morgues is meant), but that this is unimportant, because the "Vergasungskeller" can be used for that purpose, that is, as a morgue. This letter was later assigned Nuremberg trial document number NO-4473.¹

In his 1989 book, Jean-Claude Pressac interprets this letter, with the help of some reproduced documents, to show that the "Leichenkeller" mentioned here is LK 2.² Pressac further believes that the *Vergasungskeller* is LK 1 and that a "slip", indeed an "enormous gaff" (*sic*), caused the author of the letter to betray the true purpose of LK 1, referring to it as a "gassing cellar" (although the usual German word for such a concept is "Gaskammer"). On no known set of engineering drawings is a "Vergasungskeller" indicated.³

Many of those who would have us believe that there were homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz insist on this interpretation.⁴ An interesting exception has been the Austrian-born historian Raul Hilberg. In the "Killing Center Operations" chapter of his study, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, he cites, and even quotes from, document NO-4473, but he is silent about the "Vergasungskeller."

In my 1976 book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Cen-*

tury, I offered that this "Vergasungskeller" was a part of the crematory building devoted to generating a combustible gas for the ovens.⁵ This interpretation was linguistically correct and could be technically correct, depending on the design of the ovens. The primary meaning of "Vergasung" is gas generation or carburetion, that is, turning something into a gas. A secondary meaning is application of a gas as in fumigation or in gas warfare. It is also the word Germans use to refer to the alleged gassing of Jews, although they use "Gaskammer" rather than "Vergasungskammer" or "Vergasungskeller" for the facility imagined to have accomplished this. Such usage also applies in the literature on fumigation.⁶

By 1989 Robert Faurisson realized that my original interpretation was wrong, and later in 1989 Pressac⁷ conclusively showed that it was wrong, based on the design of the cremation ovens. In 1991 Faurisson offered a theory⁸ that the *Vergasungskeller* was a storage area, for fumigation supplies, within LK 3.

In 1992 I showed that there were many ways "Vergasung" can come up in sewage treatment technology, and offered that the *Vergasungskeller* might be found in the sewage treatment plant next to the crematory. However I favored the interpretation that the *Vergasungskeller* was simply a facility for generating fuel gas for the camp.⁹ Document NO-4473 suggests, but does not require, that the *Vergasungskeller* was located within the crematory building.

The purpose of this article is to offer another interpretation which I now believe is more plausible than any earlier offered by me or anybody else. Before doing that I should remark that the problem here is what the *Vergasungskeller* was, not whether it was a homicidal gas chamber. Those who claim it was a homicidal gas chamber focus their attention entirely on that one word in the document. If they would instead focus on what the document says, they would realize that it is impossible to make that interpretation work. The document shows that in January 1943 the Germans were in a great rush to use the building as an ordinary crematory.

As Faurisson discussed earlier,¹⁰ during World War II the combatants paid great heed that new structures be considered, if possible, as air raid

Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering. In addition to numerous technical papers, Dr. Butz is the author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*.

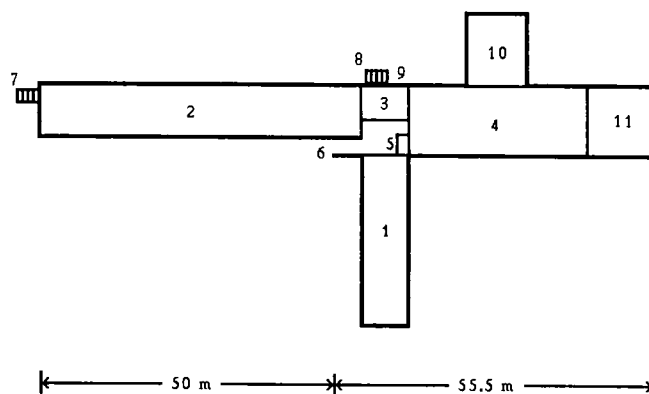
shelters. There were two principal dangers that such shelters were to provide protection against: bombs and gas attacks. On account of World War I experiences, the possibilities of the latter were taken very seriously. Indeed many simply assumed that gas would be used, despite treaties outlawing its use. Typically, a gas shelter was conceived of as a bomb shelter, preferably underground and very strong structurally, with some features added to make it secure against gas. A gas shelter had to be gas tight while allowing people to breathe.¹¹

Because in many cases it was not economic to build such structures for at most only occasional use, such shelters were often made as embellishments or modifications of structures built primarily for other purposes. However the number of such suitable structures was limited. For example, an underground cellar is typically found in a building of several stories; the collapse of such a building in an air raid could prevent people from leaving the cellar.

My proposal is that the *Vergasungskeller* mentioned in NO-4473 was a gas shelter. It need not have been located within Crematorium II, but I believe it most likely was, on account of the fact that Crematoria II and III, with their large concrete cellars, were obviously ideal for adaptation as air raid shelters. Indeed when this problem is looked at from the point of view of defense against air raids there was probably no better choice at Auschwitz-Birkenau. The German authorities responsible for providing air raid shelters would have insisted that the necessary embellishments be made to these structures. My reading of some of the relevant chemical warfare literature convinces me that the Germans intended Crematoria II and III to serve this additional role.¹²

I have never seen the word "*Vergasungskeller*" in a lexicon. Indeed I have seen it only in discussions of document NO-4473!¹³ However, I have seen two German-Russian dictionaries, one a military dictionary, that say "*Gaskeller*" means "gas shelter."¹⁴ However, we should not consider ourselves bound by dictionaries on this. If one asks the question, "In a World War II military context, what might '*Vergasungskeller*' and/or '*Gaskeller*' mean?," I think that "gas shelter" is the answer that comes most naturally to mind, and that other meanings are somewhat strained. Of course, other meanings come naturally to mind in non-military contexts.

As a personal example, I can report that I have been unable to find the term "control lab" (or "control laboratory", "controls lab", "controls laboratory") in my *IEEE Standard Dictionary of Electrical and Electronics Terms* (1972 edition), although every university Department of Electrical Engineering in the USA has a "control lab," and that is



Plan of Auschwitz Crematory Building II:

1. *Leichenkeller* 1. Below ground level morgue.
2. *Leichenkeller* 2. Below ground level morgue.
3. *Leichenkeller* 3. Below ground level morgue.
4. Furnace room. Ground level only. 15 cremation muffles.
5. Corpse elevator. Only the small central part of the building, where the furnace room joined *Leichenkeller* 1 and 2, had two levels.
6. Corpse chute.
7. Cellar entrance.
8. Cellar entrance.
9. Ground level entrance.
10. Chimney and waste incinerator.
11. Supervisor's office, worker rest room, toilet, shower, tools, urn storage, fuel (coke) storage.

how we normally refer to such a place. I have also been unable to find the term in an unabridged *Webster's*, in an on-line version of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, or in several other dictionaries I have.

If this theory is correct, then we should view all three cellars in Crematorium II as emergency air raid shelters, with only one being provided with the additional measures to make it effective as a gas shelter. That could only be LK 1, because NO-4473 implies it is not LK 2, LK 3 was very small and, conclusively, because LK 1 was the only one of the three provided with a gas-tight door.¹⁵ Moreover, while all parts of the building had motor driven air extraction systems, it appears that only LK 1 had a motor driven air intake system.¹⁶

Pressac also believes the *Vergasungskeller* was LK 1. Consistent with my hypothesis he is right about location but wrong about function. LK 1 had the basic features of a gas shelter. Pressac admits that the air exhaust (at the bottom) and air intake (near the top) systems of LK 1 were misplaced for a gas chamber employing hydrocyanic acid (HCN).¹⁷ Although HCN is only slightly lighter than air, there are various practical reasons why delousing gas chambers employing it normally expel the gas from the top when the gassing process is completed.¹⁸ Carbon dioxide, by contrast, is much

heavier than air, and is most naturally expelled from the bottom of the relevant space.

Why would the author of NO-4473 not refer to this *Leichenkeller* as a *Leichenkeller*? I don't think a "slip" is involved. We normally do not consider ourselves bound to use only formal designations. More commonly, we refer to things according to their function or in any case the function that happens to be in mind at the time. The gas shelter features of LK 1 were its principal structural distinction from LK 2, and those features were being taken into account in the construction at the time. It was natural that LK 1 might be referred to as the gas shelter.

As another example of a use of terminology suggested by function, the engineers Jährling and Messing referred to LK 2 of Crematorium II and III, during construction, with the terms "*Auskleideraum*" and "*Auskleidekeller*" (undressing room or cellar), more of what Pressac considers "slips."¹⁹ This has been another point raised by those who would put a homicidal interpretation on Crematorium II. According to this theory the victims would undress themselves in LK 2 and then be gassed in LK 1.

It seems hard to believe that these were "slips" because they were so frequently made. Jährling used this designation in a document of March 6, 1943, and then Messing used it in three documents later that same month. If these were "slips," it would seem that by this time the bosses would have told them to clean up their language. They evidently didn't, because Messing used the designation in two more documents in April.²⁰

The truth about the undressing is much more prosaic. Pressac believes that, when the Germans viewed Crematoria II and III as ordinary crematories, then the sequence of processing bodies was originally contemplated to be LK 3 to LK 2 to LK 1, but that LK 3 was eventually eliminated from the regular sequence.²¹ However that may be, if the processing of dead bodies were contemplated to start in LK 2, they would then be undressed there.²² They would then be stored in LK 1 while awaiting cremation. Presumably LK 3 was only used when a body needed some sort of special processing, such as dissection or the infamous extraction of gold fillings from teeth.

I am struck by the humorous simplicity of the theory offered here.

— This is a revised version of an article that first appeared on Dr. Butz' Web site, August 6, 1996.

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1. The original German-language text is given in E. Kogon, et al., *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas* (Frankfurt/M.: Fischer, 1986), p. 220. Along with the text in both German and English is a discussion of this letter in W. Stäglich, *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence* (IHR, 1990), pp. 45-47.
2. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989), p. 548. The reader should understand that the title of this book is misleading, as the only real "gas chambers" whose "technique and operation" are discussed are fumigation gas chambers. The homicidal gas chambers are only imagined, based on alleged "criminal traces," two of which are dealt with here. It is common to refer to this book in discussion of Auschwitz because it is the greatest single published source of reproductions of original documents and photographs for the camp.
3. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 211, 217, 432, 548.
4. See, for example, E. Kogon, et al., *Nazi Mass Murder: A Documentary History of the Use of Poison Gas* (Yale Univ. Press, 1994), pp. 157-158.
5. A. R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (1976 edition), pp. 116, 120ff.
6. F. Puntigam, et. al., *Blausäuregaskammern zur Fleckfieberabwehr* (Berlin: 1943).
7. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 106-113, 222-225, 548.
8. R. Faurisson, "Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1991 (vol. 11, no. 1), pp. 55ff.
9. A. R. Butz, "Some Thoughts on Pressac's Opus," *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1993 (vol. 13, no. 3), pp. 27-31.
10. R. Faurisson, *Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1991 (cited above), pp. 52f.
11. A. M. Prentiss, *Chemicals in War* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937); G. Woker, *Der kommende Gift- und Brandkrieg* (Leipzig: Oldenburg, 1932).
12. Since the 1991 Gulf War, Israel has required by law that all newly constructed domiciles must have gas shelters. (*Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 7, 1996, sec. 1, p. 2).
13. Dictionaries are somewhat politicized, so do not assume that "*Vergasungskeller*" will never appear in one that defines it as equivalent to "*Gaskammer*." For example, my *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (G. Wahrig, ed., Bertelsmann Lexikon-Verlag, 1973) defines "*Gaskammer*" only as something for killing people in concentration camps with poison gas, although the word was used in the fumigation field long before World War II. If a dictionary were to define "*Vergasungskeller*" as "*Gaskammer*," presumably the justification would be that it was used that way in NO-4473! Orwell, anyone?
14. L. F. Parparov, ed., *Nemetsko-Russkii Voennyi Slovar* (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1964). A.A. Lepinga and N.P. Strakhovoi, eds., *Nemetsko-Russkii Slovar* (Moscow:

Sov. Entsiklopediia, 1968).

15. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 223, 231.
16. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 284ff, 355-374.
17. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 224, 274.
18. F. Puntigam, et. al., *Blausäuregaskammern* (1943).
19. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 223, 373.
20. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 431-435, 438f.
21. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 284ff. Of course revisionists hold that they always were ordinary crematoriums.
22. Faurisson (in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1991, cited above, pp. 49f), advanced this interpretation only tentatively, because he had not been able to verify that the word "Auskleideraum" is used that way in the special terminology of morgues (that seems to be what Faurisson meant). I do not think the question is important because there is no reason to assume that Jährling (a heating technician employed by the SS) or Messing (a fitter employed by the Topf company that was providing the crematory ovens) cared very much about the special terminology of morgues. I have spent many years with engineers and I know they tend to express themselves without great concern for lexical standards, especially outside their own fields. Jährling and Messing could never have suspected that their hasty words would be subject to such contentious scrutiny half a century later!



Dr. Arthur Butz at the 1992 IHR Conference

Slick Revisionists

"These Holocaust deniers are very slick people," says Steven Some, Chairman of the New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education, "They justify everything they say with facts and figures." (*Newark Star-Ledger*, Oct. 23, 1996, p. 15). Well, this is one accusation that's really hard to answer.

New Attacks Against Arthur Butz for Revisionist Web Site

Ever since the publication two decades ago of his pioneering revisionist study, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Northwestern University teacher Arthur Butz has been something of an embarrassment for the highly regarded private educational institution.

Recently the Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering has again come under attack for presenting his dissident view of the Holocaust extermination story on his personal Internet "home page" Web site, which he set up using technology the University provides to all faculty members and students to link them to the Internet.

At the forefront of the hateful campaign have been two major Jewish-Zionist groups, the Simon Wiesenthal Center and the Anti-Defamation League. Joining them has been the local Hillel Jewish student organization and a Marxist group, the International Socialist Organization. On January 6, five ISO activists demonstrated and distributed leaflets outside a class taught by Butz. "A stalwart of the socialist philosophy is to oppose fascism," said ISO leader Joel Feinman, "and we consider Butz' ideas particularly fascist."

Northwestern officials, while denouncing Butz' views, have steadfastly refused to curtail his right to express them on the Internet through the University-run "service provider." "I believe his views are monstrous," says University President Henry Bienen, "but I don't want to set myself up as a censor of his views. Who decides what's distasteful?" He added: "We cannot take action based on the content of what Mr. Butz says regarding the Holocaust without undermining the vital principle of intellectual freedom that our policy serves to protect."

Butz has been a member of the engineering department faculty at Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois) since 1966. He received tenure — in effect, a lifetime contract with the University — two years before the publication in 1976 of his classic debunking of the Holocaust story, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (published in the United States by the Institute for Historical Review).

Media Attention

The Butz-Northwestern furor received considerable media attention. A detailed front-page report in the *Chicago Tribune* (Dec. 29), which was dismissively hostile to Butz, also appeared in other newspapers around the country. Similarly, an Associated Press report was published in a number of daily papers. Reports appeared in *The New York Times* (Jan. 10), *The Washington Post* (Jan. 12), and

in the University student paper, *The Daily Northwestern*, as well as on the CNN cable television network.

Butz and his place at Northwestern was the focus of the February 6 broadcast of "Chicago Tonight," a program of local television station WTTW. Officials of the Anti-Defamation League, the Wiesenthal Center and the local Jewish Federation described Butz and his views as "lies," "hate," "malicious intent," "anti-Semitic," "group harassment" and "venom." University spokesman Alan Cabbage calmly disagreed with the Jewish community leaders, though, explicitly stating that Butz's writings are not "hate speech."

If Butz' views were really as meritless as his critics insist, Princeton University historian Arno Mayer would not have specifically cited *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* as he did in his 1989 study, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The "Final Solution" in History*. Prof. Mayer, who is Jewish, embraced some of the most important of the arguments made in Butz' revisionist study. He acknowledged, for example, that most of the Jews who died at Auschwitz were victims of typhus and other "natural" causes, not gas chambers. "From 1942 to 1945," wrote Mayer, "certainly at Auschwitz, but probably overall, more Jews were killed by so-called 'natural' causes than by 'unnatural ones'."

Jump in Web Site Visits

Several of the newspaper articles about the Butz-Northwestern fracas cited Butz' Web site address, <http://pubweb.acns.nwu.edu/~abutz/>, encouraging many who were otherwise unfamiliar with Holocaust revisionism to check out his home page. This in turn contributed to a dramatic increase in the number of daily "hits" or visits received by the linked Web site of IHR *Journal* associate editor Greg Raven. In January the number of Raven Web site "hits" jumped to between one and two thousand daily.

An Angry Fellow Faculty Member

Adding to the Northwestern controversy was a much-discussed decision by the University not to rehire an Adjunct Instructor who insisted on denouncing Butz and Holocaust revisionism in his "Engineering Design and Entrepreneurship" class. In December the University let its contract expire with Sheldon Epstein, who had been teaching at the school for two years.

Epstein, who is Jewish, said he believes his contract was not renewed because he disregarded the advice of the Engineering School dean not to present his anti-revisionist views in his electrical engineering course. Epstein had also complained to the administration about Butz' Internet postings.

(University officials cited other reasons for the decision to drop him.)

"I am proud of who I am," said Epstein in justification. "I'm not ashamed of my heritage ... Am I supposed to stand in front of bright young students and not tell them about their history? Is that what the university wants?"

Butz, who has been a member of this *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee since 1980, has been careful to abide by the University's rules, and has never brought up his views on the Holocaust issue in any of his own classes.

In May 1994 a student-organized presentation by Butz on Holocaust revisionism was cancelled by school officials just two hours before it was scheduled to begin. (See "University Officials Block Talk by Prof. Butz," July-Aug. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 42-43.)

Checking Out IHR Material

Internet Web Site Offers Instant Worldwide Access to Revisionism

Through his personal Internet Web site, *Journal* associate editor Greg Raven makes available an impressive selection of material from the Institute for Historical Review, including IHR *Journal* articles and reviews and IHR leaflets. A listing of every item that has ever appeared in this *Journal* enables callers to quickly search for titles and authors. New Web site items are added as time permits.

This revisionist material is instantly available to millions around the world, free of censorship by governments or powerful special interest groups. It can be reached 24 hours a day from 146 countries through the World Wide Web (WWW), a multimedia Internet service.

In recent months, an average of more than 900 persons in dozens of countries have been visiting this Web site every day, with the typical caller viewing 12 files (or articles) per visit. Because it is linked to several other revisionist (and anti-revisionist) Web sites, visitors can easily access vast amounts of additional information.

The Web site address for IHR material is

<http://www.kaiwan.com/~ihrgreg>

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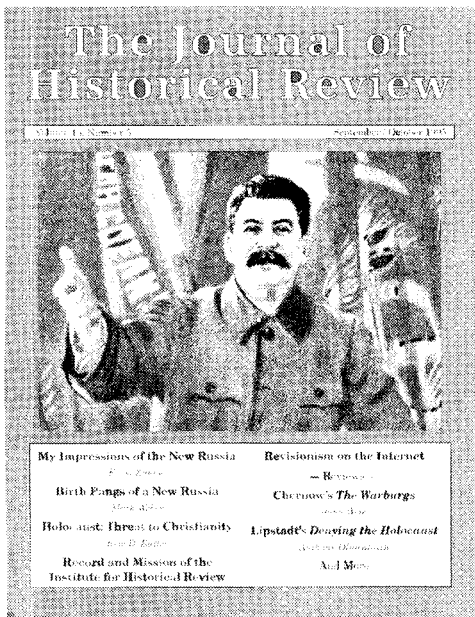
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On the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre Affair

ROBERT FAURISSON

Someone has passed on to me a comment by Jean Stévenin, a lawyer of the Paris bar: "This is a continuation of the Faurisson affair!" For him, at bottom, the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre affair is (as was the Roques affair or the Notin affair) a growth, a resurgence and a continuation of the Faurisson affair, which began in 1974 and exploded in late 1978.

I have noted the timidity, if not quasi-silence, of our journalists on the subject of the gas chambers. All should have denounced, on the spot, Garaudy's profound skepticism on this matter. But such is precisely the characteristic of the taboo: those who have a mission to preserve it dare not even reveal that it has been profaned. Having penetrated into the holy of holies, Garaudy had discovered that the tabernacle supposedly containing the magic gas chamber was empty. But mum's the word!

An article in *Le Point* (April 27, 1996, pp. 54-55) shows that the writer has a rather good knowledge of revisionism. It reproduces a fragment of my initial news release on the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre affair (April 19):

It is necessary to call a spade a spade: this genocide and these gas chambers are a fraud. If I were Jewish, I would be ashamed at the thought that, during more than half a century, so many Jews have propagated or have allowed to be propagated such an imposture.

Le Point dropped the eight final words of my text: "...such an imposture, underwritten by the major media throughout the world."

Elsewhere in the article the revisionists are described as forming a "minuscule yet stubborn sect." While the adjectives "minuscule" and "stubborn" certainly apply, the word "sect" is improper because in this case there is no religious belief nor spiritual guide. In France, the number of active revisionists has been minuscule: ten have undertaken and successfully pursued researches and 20 others have dedicated a part of their lives and their means to the support of the ten. The number of revisionists of conviction who have refrained from any involvement amounts to several hundred, while thousands of sympathizers have watched from the sidelines.

How is it that a handful of men and women succeeded in breaking a leaden silence imposed the world over by the richest, the most powerful, the most influential and most feared human group in the West? This group is the Jews. Actually, what did any of us matter compared to Edgar Bronfman alone, the super rich emperor of alcohol, and president of the World Jewish Congress, who has said that there is no task more urgent than to put an end to revisionism?

The disparity between their strength and our weakness I personally assessed at Oxford in July 1988, on the occasion of one of the most impressive international colloquiums ever organized against revisionism. Its instigator was the billionaire crook Ludvik (or Lajbi) Hoch, alias Robert Maxwell. To undermine this gargantuan enterprise, there were two of us (I repeat: just two): a Frenchman and a Frenchwoman, attended by two other French persons acting with greater caution.

Nevertheless, the participants very quickly felt themselves under a state of siege. Several audacious and rapid actions brought to bear upon the nerve centers of this colloquium derailed the event for the invited guests motoring about in chauffeured Bentleys and lodged in luxury hotels. The British police were on the look-out, but how could they imagine that only two determined individuals, and with so little material and financial resources, were behind an operation with such an impact? By the close of the colloquium, Robert Maxwell, now at the end of his tether, penned an article of vengeance against the British journalists, accusing them of not having accorded the event its proper importance. The title of the article, which appeared in one of newspapers of his publishing empire, was Emile Zola's famous challenge: "J'accuse!"

In these closing days of April 1996, the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre affair is running at full speed. It does not appear ready to subside, even if the two principal parties are trying to distance themselves from revisionism. The Holocaust lobby never forgives the least infraction against its taboo. Excuses, retractions, explanations and flatteries will not assuage the offense against them. They will be without pity. They will flail all the harder at those who, even for a moment, cringe or offer their backsides.

The Garaudy/Abbé Pierre affair makes me both

happy and bitter.

I am happy because those who are deeply involved in all this are now finally taking to heart what I've nearly killed myself repeating for almost a quarter century. In late 1995, when I saw that revisionism was making inroads on the Internet, and that Jewish organizations were calling for its censorship, I felt some sense of relief. As the exterminationist historian Jean-Pierre Azéma might put it in his particular manner of speaking: "For Faurisson it's like eating cake, and for Abbé Pierre, consecrated bread."

This happiness is tinged with some bitterness because, over the past 22 years, these people and their comrades had either insulted me or allowed me to fight alone, or nearly alone. Here again, one might paraphrase Azéma's style: "Faurisson has done, he alone, all the work. For this he has taken plenty of gruff and for nary a brass farthing. Today, they are starting to go through his pockets all the while insulting him." For my part, I would add that these eleventh-hour laborers, men such as Garaudy and Abbé Pierre, are also engaging in an excessive show of anti-Nazism. What temerity on their part!

One shudders for them over this.

At the conclusion of his television program, Bernard Pivot asks the authors he's invited to appear as guests about their literary preferences, their

tastes on all sorts of matters, and then, to wrap up, he solicits their imagination: "If God were to exist, what would you like him to say to you?"

Pivot, whose past and present comportment reveals his trepidation regarding the International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism (LICRA), is someone who would certainly never invite me to appear on his program. But, just for the heck of it, let us imagine that he does. Here is how I would answer him:

Your questions about my tastes are indiscreet. I will not divulge in public that which resides in the domain of the intimate. Yet the atheist that I am replies to your final question: "I would like God to tell me: here, up above, it is not like it is on earth, and it is certainly not like



Abbé Pierre



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A courageous German-American civil rights activist tells the full, inside story of his arrest in Germany in August

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"The gas chambers did exist." This 1986 French editorial cartoon draws parallels between the forced recantation of Galileo Galilei in the 17th century, and the pressure by authorities in our own era to compel doubters of the orthodox Holocaust story to submit to official dogma. It was drawn by Laurant Fabre ("Konk"), who was expelled from the prestigious Paris daily *Le Monde* for his nonconformism. Ten years later, it seems to describe Abbé Pierre's predicament.

it is at Bernard Pivot's. Here reigns freedom of expression."

Through this response I would thus simultaneously confirm that for me, God, our individual survival and the kingdom of freedom of expression are nothing but dreams.

People often ask me about my political views. It is pointless and, unfortunately, typically French. In France, everything oozes politics. How would my political opinions provide support either for the dogma of the existence of the gas chambers or the thesis of their non-existence? Whether I am of the right or the left, philo-Semite or anti-Semite, how could this give rise to a Nazi gas chamber at Auschwitz where there never was one?

During my long wait for this small bit of happiness, tinged with bitterness, I believe I can truly say that I voyaged through hell. I first knew total solitude, before the arrival of a few friends who, for the most part, have remained faithful. At the same time, though, I have also had to defend myself against many of these same friends, who overwhelmed me with their advice and sagacity.

I have lived for many years among friends who

considered themselves more cunning than I. They radiated a sense of their own superior understanding of strategy, tactics, diplomacy and psychology. They explained to me the virtues of moderation or the prudence of handling people's minds; they knew how to do this in order to be convincing; they informed me that plain talk presented too many inconveniences, and that instead of stating plainly that the emperor has no clothes, it is better to give people, through subtle and round-about means, the suspicion that perhaps the emperor is not wearing magical garments, in which the crooks are pretending to have swaddled him.

They took the view that I was wrong to regard myself as fighting in a kind of boxing ring, where I knew how to effect only four or five movements — and always the same: a right jab, a left jab, a left hook followed by a right hook and then, at the end of it all, a painful uppercut punch. For the few punches given, deftly it seemed to me, I received an avalanche in return, often below the belt, with the full assent of the referees. At the end of each match, more than once I found myself on the mat, groggy and nearly down for the count. Each time I picked myself back up. I tottered. I was declared beaten. Everywhere people were trumpeting that it was over and that one would never again see me in the ring. My friends thereupon offered me a profusion of advice for the future. They put forward the wisest of schemes, which consisted of avoiding any new encounter. Above all, no "Faurisson foolishness!"

I reproach these friends for not having openly proclaimed themselves as revisionists, and for not shouting from the roof-tops that gas chambers and genocide were but a lie, a calumny and a defamation. In France, I found myself alone in saying this *and in repeating it publicly*. Our adversaries had a field day denouncing a lone man. Considering the impact of a lone revisionist, I am persuaded that, in France at least, if even just a few other revisionists had openly proclaimed their convictions in the wake of the pitiful declaration by 34 historians appeared in *Le Monde* on February 21, 1979 (a declaration whose contents implicitly confirmed the non-existence of gas chambers) revisionism would have successfully broken out of its obscurity already in the early 1980s.

One day we shall indeed see the end of this seemingly interminable affair. I am putting everyone on notice: I will not change; even if my enemies keep up their intimidation and my friends continue to give their advice. Historical revisionism is an intellectual adventure that I shall endure to the end, and in the manner, good or bad, that I have chosen for myself.

— Mâcon, April 27, 1996

German Authorities 'Index' Two IHR Leaflets

A German government censorship agency has "indexed" as "dangerous to youth" translations of two leaflets published by the Institute for Historical Review. At the request of Germany's Interior Ministry, the "Federal Review Agency for Literature Dangerous to Youth" (*Bundesprüfstelle für jugendgefährdende Schriften*) on October 17 and 18, 1996, "indexed" unauthorized Internet translations of two IHR leaflets: "The Holocaust: Let's Hear Both Sides," by Mark Weber, and "The Liberation of the Camps: Facts versus Lies," by Theodore O'Keefe.

The Bonn agency generally uses its "indexing" authority to sharply restrict sales and advertising of pornography. In the case of these IHR leaflets, "indexing" may have only symbolic impact, because these two flawed German translation texts exist only on the "Zundelsite," the US-based Internet Web page offering writings of German-Canadian publicist Ernst Zündel and other material.

Justifications

In detailed statements justifying its decision, the Bonn agency declares that the contents of the two leaflets are "obviously suited to socially-ethically disorient children and youth." Referring to Section 130 of the German Criminal Code ("popular incitement"), the agency notes that it is "a punishable crime to deny the countless murders of inmates in Third Reich concentration and extermination camps."

This restriction on free speech does not involve a politically motivated suppression of legitimate opinion, the agency statement contends, but rather "strives to protect the honor of the victims of National Socialism as well as their descendents [*Nachfahren*]." In spite of a guaranteed basic right to express "the assertion that there were no Third Reich gassings of Jews," the Bonn agency's justification continued, the "gravity of the act of Holocaust denial...makes it necessary to give priority to protecting youth" by suppressing these leaflets.

Misrepresentations

However, and as any careful reader of the text in question can easily determine for himself, the key justifications given by the agency for this particular "indexing" decision are simply not true.

With regard to Weber's leaflet, the censorship agency declares:

On seven pages the author explains his thesis that, contrary to all previously accepted historiographic findings, there were no gassings of Jews or other persecuted minorities during the Third Reich. In this context the author mixes some undisputed details of historical research with simple assertions contrary to historical findings — for example, the fact that with regard to the Final Solution no written Führer order has been found, and that all the inmates of Auschwitz other extermination camps in the east perished entirely of diseases and malnutrition.

This mixture of accurate facts and freely invented particulars culminates with the conclusion that the Holocaust is an invention of world Jewry to morally and financially blackmail the Germans according to the motto "There is no business like Shoah business." This keeps the entire truth from coming to light, so that all that the public learns is the "conventional extermination history."

In fact, Weber simply does not make the statements attributed to him here. No where does he claim or suggest that "all the inmates of Auschwitz other extermination camps in the east perished entirely of diseases and malnutrition." Weber does not claim or assert that "the Holocaust is an invention of world Jewry to morally and financially blackmail the Germans," nor does he even contend that "there were no gassings of Jews or other persecuted minorities during the Third Reich."

With regard to the "Shoah business" slogan, what Weber actually wrote is this:

For many Jews, the Holocaust has become both a flourishing business and a kind of new religion, as noted Jewish author and newspaper publisher Jacobo Timerman points out in his book, *The Longest War*. He reports that many Israelis, using the word Shoah, which is Hebrew for Holocaust, joke that "There's no business like Shoah business."

The Bonn agency similarly misrepresents the content of O'Keefe's leaflet, which it finds "could promote a mistaken orientation among young readers." Specifically, the agency declares:

On eight pages the author explains his thesis that during the Third Reich the gassing of Jews and other persecuted minorities could not have taken place, and comes to the conclusion that the deaths in Auschwitz and other concentration camps were the result of typhus epidemics and other diseases, which in turn were primarily the result of Allied air attacks; that the brutal attacks in the camps were in reality the work of fellow inmates, and that the supposed gas chambers were used either to bath the inmates or for delousing clothing.

In fact, O'Keefe simply does not make the sweeping statements attributed to him here. He makes no mention whatsoever of conditions in Auschwitz, but instead confines himself to conditions in such western camps as Dachau and Buchenwald, which were liberated by American and British troops. O'Keefe does not contend or argue that "gassing of Jews and other persecuted minorities could not have taken place."

With regard to mistreatment of camp inmates, what O'Keefe actually wrote is this: "US Army investigators, working at Buchenwald and other camps, quickly ascertained what was common knowledge among veteran inmates: that the worst offenders, the cruelest denizens of the camps, were not the guards but the prisoners themselves." To substantiate this (accurate) statement, O'Keefe went on quote from an official US Army report, and to cite a postwar statement by a former high-ranking US Army officer.

Official Disapproval

The Institute for Historical Review and its *Journal of Historical Review* have a peculiar status in Germany. On the one hand, the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, a leading German academic research center, as well as the Bavarian State Library, have been faithful (and paying) subscribers for years.

On the other hand, some German authorities view the IHR with suspicion, if not disapproval. In April 1995, Germany's Interior Ministry issued a critical but ambiguously worded official statement on the Institute and its work. (The complete text, with commentary, is given in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 34-35.) That same year, the Bavarian State Interior Ministry's "constitutional protection" office issued a 38-page booklet, entitled *Revisionismus*, on "right-extremist revisionism." It included a

disparaging but rather ambiguously worded section on the Institute.

In early 1996 the public prosecutor's office in Mannheim announced that it was investigating the Institute for Historical Review. According to the newsletter of the German Information Office in New York (*The Week in Germany*, Feb. 23, 1996, p. 7), the IHR was suspected

of distributing prohibited materials in Germany via the Internet. The institute, the prosecutors' office believes, has made available publications via the Internet that attempt to refute the genocide of the European Jews carried out by the Nazi regime... The institute also faces charges of incitement for its Internet activities.

The IHR was never given formal notice of this investigation, and nothing seems to have come of it.

More recently, the Berlin Police sent a letter dated May 22, 1997, to Andreas Röhler, publisher of the Berlin dissident journal *Sleipnir*. Citing *The Journal of Historical Review*, it summoned Röhler to police headquarters for questioning as part of a preliminary official inquiry on a charge of "popular incitement."

Institute Letter to German Authorities

Last year the Institute for Historical Review received letters from German authorities announcing that they were considering "indexing" Web site translations of two IHR leaflets. In the following letter of September 11, 1996, to the "Federal Supervisory Office for Literature Dangerous to Youth" in Bonn, IHR Director Mark Weber responded:

We acknowledge receipt of your two registered air mail letters of 20 August 1996 with the accompanying copies of letters of 13 August from the *Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend* (Federal Ministry for Family, Senior, Women and Youth Affairs). These letters announce that the Ministry is seeking to "index" German-language translations of two essays, "The Holocaust: Let's Hear Both Sides," by Mark Weber, and "The Liberation of the Camps: Facts versus Lies," by Theodore J. O'Keefe, both of which are on the "Zundel-site" internet Web page.

Regrettably, insufficient notice was provided for us to respond appropriately to your letters and the indexing applications. You informed us that we had one week from the date of mailing to express objections to these applications. Your letters were post-

marked on the 21st of August, and arrived here on the 30th. Thus, we received your letters after the legal time period in which we could respond had already passed.

Please be advised that the German-language texts under consideration here are translations that were neither made nor authorized by the Institute for Historical Review or by the authors. We first learned of these two German-language texts from your letters of 20 August, and we have still not read them. It is thus possible that the Federal Ministry's applications for "indexing" are based on inaccurate translations for which we cannot be held responsible.

We completely reject the Ministry's reason (*Begründung*) for the "indexing" applications. We reject the assertion that these essays might "socially-ethically... disorient" young readers, or that they "propagate National Socialist or right extremist" views. These essays do not "deny National Socialist crimes," nor do they seek to "rehabilitate" the National Socialist regime. Interestingly, no specific evidence or citation is provided to justify any of these assertions, or to show just how these texts might be "harmful" to youth.

The "Zundelsite" internet Web page on which these two essays are made available is located in the United States, where such writings are entirely legal and enjoy constitutional protection. Every German who reads these "Zundelsite" texts must take the initiative to do so, rather like making a long-distance telephone call to the United States to listen to a pre-recorded message. For German authorities to attempt, in effect, to ban these items in the United States is absurd, if not outrageous.


Since its founding in 1978, the Institute for Historical Review has steadfastly opposed bigotry of all kinds in its efforts to promote greater public understanding of key chapters of history. Consistent with this, we are very concerned about Germany's legal persecution of persons who express dissident views about certain historical questions. Germany is one of the few countries that punishes those who express dissident or revisionist views of the Second World War, and in particular about the wartime fate of Europe's Jews. Most notably, Germans are fined or imprisoned for disputing aspects of the Holocaust extermination story.

The Ministry's "indexing" applications insultingly suggest that German authorities do not trust the people they represent, or that Germans lack the intelligence or maturity to evaluate historical issues for themselves. As the French philosopher Claude Adrien Helvétius (1715-1771) wrote: "To limit the press is to insult a nation. To prohibit reading of certain books is to declare the inhabitants to be either fools or slaves."

The justifications offered by the Ministry to suppress these writings echo the arguments of censors throughout the ages. For many people around the world, the efforts by German authorities to suppress revisionist writings call to mind the suppression of politically undesirable writings during the Third Reich era.

We believe that Germans should have the same right to judge historical issues, and to express their views about them, as citizens of, for example, Sweden, Britain, Turkey, Pakistan, Italy, Russia and the United States.

We trust that in spite of the impossible time limit imposed on us to respond to your letters, you will give respectful consideration to this communication.



'Holocaust Pressure Groups Shut Down Japan's *Marco Polo* Magazine,' a 30-page IHR Special Report, is available from the Institute for \$20.

This important supplement to the feature article in the March-April 1995 *Journal* includes a translation of Dr. Nishioka's headline-making *Marco Polo* article, facsimile copies of numerous reports from American and Japanese English-language newspapers on the Marco Polo furor, and more.

Institute for Historical Review
P.O. Box 2739 · Newport Beach, CA · 92659

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If you believe in the Institute for Historical Review and its fight for freedom and truth in history, please remember the IHR in your will or designate the IHR as a beneficiary of your life insurance policy. It can make all the difference.

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Director, IHR
P.O. Box 2739
Newport Beach, CA 92659 USA

Switzerland in the Grip of the 'Traditional Enemy'

BERNHARD SCHAUB

Our country is today involved in the greatest foreign policy crisis since the Second World War.

It faces a powerful enemy who, paradoxically, hardly anyone dares to name because in the western world he enjoys a kind of state protection, and because he portrays itself in the image of the eternally persecuted. In this situation, the blackmailer has been able to appear as the poor, persecuted victim, and to take advantage of most people's good nature and sense of fair play.

How could it have come to this? To recapitulate a few things: In 1991 the Swiss confederation celebrated its 700th anniversary. On this occasion there appeared in the year book (*Jahrbuch*) of Migros, Switzerland's largest chain store, an interview with labor union secretary Ruth Dreifuss. At the time this Jewish woman, and a former Zionist youth movement member, was not very well known. In this interview she expressed herself with disarming openness about our country's future. She said that, as far as she was concerned, it is not important whether Switzerland survives as a sovereign country, but that, in any case, she certainly wishes to see Switzerland as a colorful country, that is of people of mixed race with many mixed marriages. A short time later Dreifuss was appointed, under unusual circumstances, to a high-level post on the governing Federal Council (*Bundesrat*).

Then came a bustle of activity, most notably the introduction of a so-called anti-racism law, which makes it a crime to "deny or whitewash the genocide," and a campaign to encourage guilt feelings among the Swiss regarding their role during the Second World War.

It should be kept in mind that Switzerland

stayed out of the conflict as a neutral country, even though during the war years it was completely surrounded by Axis countries. For this small mountainous country without natural resources, import and export is a matter of survival — and naturally this was true during the war as well. Among the goods routinely traded were military supplies and gold. Everywhere this has always been the case, and it's not likely to change much in the future. There was no reason under international law why Switzerland should have stopped its trade with the Third Reich.

As it had in earlier times of war, Switzerland once again took seriously its role as a humanitarian country. The International Committee of the Red Cross, headquartered in Geneva, was very active everywhere it was permitted to operate. Some 300,000 refugees were given shelter in Switzerland, of whom almost 30,000 were Jews. By percentage of population this was far more than any other country.

But let us return to Federal Council member Dreifuss. She and her Social Democratic Party, with the help of the largely cooperative or coordinated media, did not tire of maligning Switzerland. At the same time, and parallel with this, Jewish circles in the United States began a massive campaign of accusations against Switzerland, with fantastic demands for money. At this same time, a Jewish woman, May Kunin, was coincidentally named as the US ambassador to Switzerland. International Jewish community leaders Edgar Bronfman, Israel Singer and Avraham Burg joined in, increasing the pressure on Switzerland to such an extent that Federal Council president Jean-Pascal Delamuraz spoke of a campaign of "blackmail," and the Swiss ambassador in the United States, Carlo Jagmetti, even referred, in a confidential paper, to this as a "war." (Jagmetti promptly resigned, and Delamuraz was condemned to silence.)

Even though some resistance to this campaign has been developing around the out-spoken businessman and parliamentary deputy Christoph Blocher, these recent developments suggest that very probably Switzerland will submit to the pressure and pay up.

How was all this possible? The reason is quite simple. All discussions of this matter are based on

Bernhard Schaub, was born in 1954 in Bern, Switzerland. He taught history and German at a private school in Zurich until January 1993, when he was fired without notice. This termination was a consequence of his 1992 book, *Adler und Rose*, on the history of German-speaking Central Europe. Because passages in this book call wartime "gassings" into question, the author was subjected to media smears. Since January 1993 he has worked as an independent teacher of adult education courses. He is the father of two daughters. (*Adler und Rose* is available from: Postfach 386, 8105 Regensdorf, Switzerland.)

two axiomatic premises, and an associated conclusion:

First, the Third Reich gassed six million Jews,

Second, so many people can't be killed without the neighboring countries taking notice, and

Third, therefore the Swiss must have known and thereby are also co-guilty.

While a number of revisionist historians have effectively discredited the first premise, recently two prominent Swiss historians of contemporary history have specifically repudiated the conclusion: Prof. J. R. Salis and Prof. E. Bonjour confirm that knowledgeable Swiss authorities had no solid evidence of any mass extermination before the end of the war (*Recht und Freiheit*, Oct. 2, 1995; *Thurgauer Zeitung*, June 2, 1997). [See also: Arthur R. Butz, "Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust' Controversy," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982, pp. 371-405.]

But to say such a thing can bring a thinking person into trouble with the law: if the third sentence is not correct, the first or second premise must not be true. The second cannot be doubted because it corresponds with basic common sense. Logically the Allied secret services would have promptly learned of mass gassings, and the Allied political leaders certainly would not have ignored such an opportunity for propaganda against Germany. Therefore the first premise must be dubious. But that's something no one dares to think because it's not permitted. As a result, Frau Dreifuss can claim with no fear of contradiction that Switzerland's wartime Federal Council "knew that Jews were being annihilated" (*Nouveau Quotidien*, May 9, 1995). Hardly anyone dares seriously to contradict this, much less to make the revisionist argument in a forceful way.

In this catastrophic situation, which points up Switzerland's laughable and humiliating subordination to world Jewry, the question arises: why now, more than half a century after the events in question?

In answering this question, it should be stressed that this campaign is concerned with something quite different than historical justice. Accordingly, the accusations are not made against specific individuals or institutions, but rather involve a propaganda campaign against an entire country. Moreover, it should be noted, the accusations are not made by a foreign country or government, but rather entirely by individual persons and private institutions (especially the World Jewish Congress), which, under international law, our federal government is under no obligation even to answer. To the

contrary, the Swiss government would be justified in formally calling on Washington to curtail the impertinent Senator Alphonse D'Amato. But nothing like that is happening.

If it's not historical justice that our adversaries are concerned about, what is it?

Switzerland is in some ways a troublesome country. It is the world's only *direct democracy*, which means that our government must submit every major decision or policy to a referendum of the people. This is what Swiss people understand by freedom, and why the half-historical, half-mystical figure of Wilhelm Tell is a national symbol.

Switzerland is also a *neutral* country, a status rooted in an ancient conception of self that goes back to the sacred national figure Niklaus von Flüe. In the 15th century this mystic gave this piece of advice to his warlike Swiss compatriots: "Don't involve yourself in foreign affairs. But if someone attacks you, defend yourselves bravely." Since that time the idea of armed neutrality has been a basic Swiss principle.

These two basic principles of the Swiss Confederation help explain why Switzerland has not joined any international organizations. The Swiss have rejected membership in the United Nations organization, NATO, and the European Union because they fear a loss of sovereignty and do not want to send their men to war on behalf of foreign powers. At the same time no one can accuse Switzerland of narrow-minded nationalism. Alongside the majority German-speaking population, people of French and Italian culture live here unthreatened and with complete equal rights. It is no wonder that prominent thinkers and influential statesmen time and again have cited Switzerland as a model for European unification. Recently, for example, the deputy chairman of the CDU/CSU faction in the German Bundestag, Heiner Geissler, said: "Switzerland is a prototype for what the European Union should look like politically" (*Brückenbauer*, March 5, 1997).

It seems paradoxical, but therein lies the deeper reason for the on-going campaign against Switzerland: it is a fight against the Swiss *idea*. And one must remember that this idea is based on a very solid foundation. Our country may be geographically small, but it is the seventh most important industrial country in Europe, and one of the world's most important financial centers.

If such a country defies what is called the "New World Order," then in spite of its apparent small size it is a factor of intellectual and economic importance to be taken seriously in the calculation of the "one worlders."

This "New World Order" is not to be directly democratic, nor will it respect developed cultures. To the contrary, it will be, as Winston Churchill once

warned, "an authoritarian, almighty world order" (*Speeches of Winston Churchill*, New York, 1974). As the founder of the Paneuropa Union, Count Richard N. Coudenhove-Kalergi, spelled out in his book, *Praktischer Idealismus* ("Practical Idealism"; Vienna/Leipzig, 1925), its population will consist of a "Eurasian-Negroid mixed race."

This "one world" will also require a common spiritual foundation, a religious basis. According to an official of the Canadian B'nai B'rith organization, Ian J. Kagedan, this will be the Holocaust faith (*Toronto Star*, Nov. 26, 1991). It is characteristic that the term for the alleged mass gassing of Jews is a Greek word that comes from the language of the ancient religions.

Thus, this truly "New World Order" will be: one world, with one government, one (mixed) race, ruled by one "chosen" people, one god (Yahweh), and one cult — the Holocaust.

The Switzerland idea is the antithesis of this, and therefore must be destroyed. To accomplish this, bombs are not necessary. It will suffice to discredit the Swiss idea in the world, and among the Swiss themselves — to disparage it so that people will reject it and turn to the arms of the "New World Order."

To morally destroy an adversary, nothing works better than to accuse him of complicity with the Third Reich. This task was taken up by Senator D'Amato as the instrument of the New York Zionists. Today the same tried and true method is being used against Switzerland that for years has successfully worked against Germany. Accusations without basis are made according to the notion that people are more inclined to accept a big lie than a small one. At the same time the claim is made that these accusations can be proven with countless documents. Eventually the public begins to believe that such documents actually exist because newspapers, radio and television all say so. In this campaign, the largest circulation magazines of our country even use doctored photographs (as the conservative middle class opposition periodical *Schweizerzeit* recently revealed [March 7, 1997]).

The most diverse accusations are made in this masterful campaign of deliberate confusion, so that the hapless media consumer has no idea what the real situation is. The goal here is not to honestly inform the people, but rather to confuse the public in a fog of guilt feelings.

Let's take a look at the most important of the accusations. The most serious is that Swiss banks have kept for themselves enormous sums of money deposited by Jews, instead of turning over this money to the rightful heirs. American Jews speak of 30 billion Swiss Francs. There is also talk of hoarding stolen art treasures, of laundering gold to the

advantage of the Third Reich, and from time to time there's mention of the infamous gold teeth of gassed Jews.

The Swiss are also accused of welcoming too few Jewish refugees during the war, thereby condemning tens of thousand of Jews to "certain death". Swiss Jews who gave support to Jewish refugees in Switzerland during the war are now suddenly demanding that the Swiss government compensate them for their expenditures. And, predictably, the Gypsies are now also speaking up and demanding money as well.

This entire absurd comedy might be simply laughed off if one did not understand that our contemporaries have been thoroughly impregnated with the Holocaust religion. As a result, even patriotic groups in Switzerland argue that we should attempt to discredit these accusations rather than turn the tables around and come to grips with the *fundamental* issues of contemporary history.

The commission of historians set up by the Swiss government therefore should not merely investigate our trade and refugee policy during the war, but, more to the point, deal with the question of the supposed destruction of the Jews. In this regard they could cite the statement by the Freiburg historian Ulrich Herbert, who recently said: "Historians have so far only interpreted the Holocaust. The task now is to investigate it" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, Feb. 13, 1997).

It is high time to transform this conflict from one of morally vulnerable sentiment to one of intelligent, clear-headed analysis. For the time being this may be little more than a lonely call in the desert. One is also justified in fearing legal repercussions for reaching conclusions in this controversial subject different than the officially permitted ones. By the same token no one dares to shed light on the dark history of Zionism, and thereby to go on the counterattack.

Meanwhile, bowing to "international" pressure, Swiss banks and businesses have established a fund of 150 Million Swiss francs to help Holocaust victims. This was done even though originally everyone was supposed to wait for the release (in the summer of 1997) of the report of the already-mentioned historians' commission. But in the meantime New York and world Jewry were threatening a boycott of Swiss financial institutions, and this is something the Swiss banks could not dare risk. They much preferred to pay something right away. A short time later the Swiss Federal Council decided to establish a "solidarity foundation," based on our gold reserves with a starting capital of seven billion.

On the other side of the Atlantic, Senator D'Amato triumphantly spoke of a "admission or acknowledgment of guilt." This is reminiscent of the

dictated Versailles treaty of 1919, whereby Germany was obliged to sign a guilt clause or face military occupation. Switzerland is today experiencing its own Versailles *Diktat*. It is being forced to pay reparations, and one day it may likewise endure its own Nuremburg. At a press conference last year, Jewish attorney Edward D. Fagan stated: "Germany was brought to court in Nuremburg, and Switzerland will be brought to court in Brooklyn" (*Tagesanzeiger*, Nov. 29, 1996.)

This campaign is by no means finished. Its goal will be reached only when little Switzerland and all of Europe are finally forced into submission.

— March 12, 1997

The 'New World Order' and Holocaust 'Lessons'

"In the moral reconstruction of Eastern Europe, coming to terms with the Holocaust must figure prominently... Involvement [by politicians] with such groups as the Institute for Historical Review, a Holocaust-denial operation in Torrance, Calif., is something many voters are ready to overlook... The Holocaust stands as Western civilization's greatest failure. It was a natural outcome of centuries of racism and anti-Semitism. To deny the Holocaust is to deny racism's capacity to undercut our civilization's basic values and to destroy democracy. Achieving our quest of a 'new world order' depends on our learning the Holocaust's lessons."

— Ian J. Kagedan, director of government relations, B'nai B'rith Canada, in his essay "Memory of Holocaust Central to New World Order," *Toronto Star*, Nov. 26, 1991.

'Holocaust Deception' Makes Waves in Turkey

A new revisionist book in Turkey has been receiving both warm praise and sharp criticism. Published in Istanbul, *Soykirim Yalani* ("Holocaust Deception") is the first book-length dissident study of the Holocaust issue to appear in the nation of some 64 million people.

The handsomely produced 285-page softcover work, subtitled "The Secret History of the Zionist-Nazi Collaboration and the True Story of the 'Jewish Holocaust'," is an attractively laid out volume, with numerous photographs, nine pages of source reference notes, an eight-page bibliography, and a good index. A second edition, with an English-language supplement, is scheduled for publication

soon.

The book has received praise from Turkish newspapers affiliated with the country's Islamist Welfare Party, whose leader is the country's prime minister. At the same time, "Holocaust Deception" has come under fire from pro-Zionist sources. Author Nuri Özbudak, who wrote the book under the pen name of Harun Yahya, has brought a defamation suit against a journalist who denounced "Holocaust Deception" as "dirty propaganda." Özbudak's lawyer points out that this serious study is based on extensive research and more than 100 documents in four languages.

The book's first section explores in detail the little-known story of collaboration between Zionists and Third Reich Germany, relying in part on an article on this subject in the June-August 1993 issue of this *Journal*.

Holocaust deception and fraud is the focus of the book's second section, which relies to a considerable extent on books and other material put out by the Institute for Historical Review, including the *IHR Journal*. This section traces the development and impact of Holocaust revisionism, showing how revisionist scholars have succeeded in debunking numerous Holocaust claims. Accompanying this detailed survey of revisionist scholarship are photographs of such key personalities as Henri Roques, Fred Leuchter, Germar Rudolf, Arthur Butz, David Irving and Robert Faurisson.

The extensive efforts by Zionist groups, both legal and extra-legal, to suppress revisionism are also detailed. For example, readers are told how the large-circulation Japanese magazine *Marco Polo* was shut down in early 1995 because it had published an article questioning aspects of the Holocaust extermination story. Photographs in this section show Dr. Faurisson in his hospital bed following the nearly fatal attack against him in September 1989, and the devastated IHR offices in the aftermath of the July 1984 arson attack.

Zionism's "ingathering of the exiles" efforts is the focus of the book's third section, which details the dirty tricks and underhanded measures used by Israeli officials to pressure diaspora Jews into emigrating to Israel.

"Government is not reason, it is not eloquence. It is force. Like fire, it is a dangerous servant and a fearsome master."

— George Washington

A Major Revisionist Breakthrough in Russia

Under the front-page headline, "The Myth of the Holocaust: The Truth About the Fate of the Jews in the Second World War," the Moscow paper *Russkii Vestnik* ("Russian Messenger") has devoted an entire special issue to an effective revisionist analysis of the Holocaust extermination story.

Written by Swiss historian and educator Jürgen Graf, this is the first serious work of revisionist scholarship on the Holocaust issue to receive mass distribution in Russia. Some 200,000 copies were sold between September 1996 and February 1997, both as a special issue of *Russkii Vestnik* and as an attractive 123-page booklet. Graf's well-organized and carefully referenced essay debunks numerous specific Holocaust claims, while introducing readers to the work of such revisionist specialists as Robert Faurisson, Carlo Mattogno, Arthur Butz, Enrique Aynat and Fred Leuchter.

Introducing Graf's essay is a front-page editorial note that condemns the "ghastly crimes committed against the Jews" by the "Hitlerites." At the same time, though, it stresses that Jewish wartime losses have been greatly and purposefully exaggerated.

The editorial also introduces readers to historical revisionism, which is not well known in Russia. "On the basis of purely scholarly research," relates the first paragraph, the Institute for Historical Review in the United States "debunks historical myths." It continues:

The revisionist school of historians, which has been in existence for several decades in the West, on the basis of scrupulously examined documents and eyewitness accounts, was the first to question the assertions of the Zionists. The USSR and Russia were unaware of the existence and views of the revisionist school because we had not yet approached the problem in that way.

"Characteristically," the editorial relates, "the main 'arguments' used against the revisionists have been court suits and terror," citing the cases of such individuals as Robert Faurisson, Thies Christophersen, Ernst Zündel and Wilhelm Stäglich. "This alone suggests that the enemies of revisionism simply do not have any other kind of arguments."

In a sympathetic page-two preface to Graf's essay, Russian historian Dr. Oleg A. Platonov writes of the "myth of the 'Holocaust,' namely, that six million Jews were allegedly put to death in gas chambers during the Second World War." This myth, he continues, "has taken hold in the mass mind with

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ЮРГЕН ГРАФ

МИФ О ХОЛОКОСТЕ

правда о судьбе евреев во второй мировой войне

В русском журнале "Русский Вестник" и в специальном выпуске "Миф о Холокосте" Юрген Граф подвергает тщательной критике утверждения о массовых расстрелах евреев в гетто и лагерях смерти. Автор приводит многочисленные факты, подтверждающие, что евреи не были жертвами Холокоста, а наоборот, активно участвовали в войне. Граф также критикует работы таких известных историков, как Р. Фавриссон, К. Маттогно, А. Бутц, Э. Айнайт и Ф. Лехтер.

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This special issue of the Moscow paper *Russkii Vestnik* is devoted to a lengthy revisionist dissection of the Holocaust extermination story by Swiss historian Jürgen Graf. The front-page headline reads: "Myth of the Holocaust: The True Fate of the Jews During the Second World War."

particular force," with the aim of encouraging non-Jews to "feel a sense of guilt, repent and pay restitution." He goes on:

The myth of the Holocaust insults humanity because it portrays the Jewish people as the main victims of the last war, even though the Jews in fact suffered not more, but less than other peoples who were caught up in that murderous conflict ... Humanity paid for the war with 55 million human lives, in which the real — not the mythical — number of Jewish victims was not six million, but rather about 500,000, as the calculations of specialists show ...

"On the wave of the myth of the Holocaust," Platonov adds, "the state of Israel was established illegally and against the will of the Palestinians." Both Graf and Platonov are members of this *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee. (See the May-June 1997 *Journal*, pp. 19-20.)

To satisfy the public appetite for revisionism in Russia, translations of several revisionist writings are in the works, including a Russian edition of the book-length analysis of Israel's "founding myths" by French scholar Roger Garaudy (reviewed in the March-April 1996 *Journal*, pp. 35-36).

This special *Russkii Vestnik* issue was cited favorably in the Moscow newspaper *Pravda* (January 24, 1997). Valentin Prussakov's *Pravda* article, "Jews at the Origins of Nazism," discusses the role

of Jews and half-Jews in wartime Germany's armed forces, and as intellectual forebears of National Socialism. Although *Pravda* no longer plays the leading role it did during the Soviet era, it remains an influential paper with a national readership. "It is difficult not to agree with the view of Russian historian Oleg Platonov," writes Prussakov, who goes on to quote from Platonov's *Russkii Vestnik* preface. "Obviously, it is time to put an end to the talk of the 'special suffering of the Jewish people,'" concludes Prussakov.

How the public views the past, and especially 20th-century history, is a crucial aspect of the current struggle between "nationalists" and "internationalists" for the future of Russia. (See "Capitalism in the New Russia" in the May-June 1997 *Journal*.) In Russia, as in America and western Europe, "internationalists" promote a highly polemicized rendering of "Holocaust" history, with its guilt-ridden "lessons" for non-Jewish humanity, while "nationalists" have an interest in fostering a truthful and impartial perspective on this chapter of history.

An Iconoclastic Polish Journal

Since its founding in 1986, the Polish magazine *stanczyk* has developed into a significant intellectual journal viewing cultural, historical and current-affairs issues from a somewhat libertarian, revisionist and "New Right" perspective. Issue No. 29 (1996), for example, features a ten-point practical guide by Jaroslaw Zadencki for viewing the forthcoming millennium from a "revolutionary conservative" perspective, and an article by Marek Wegierski on "traditionalist" ferment in contemporary fantasy and science fiction literature.

A laudatory profile of American revisionist scholar Harry Elmer Barnes appears in issue No. 27 (1995), along with an article about Barnes' critique of the US bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. ("Stanczyk" was a jester in the court of Polish King Sigismund I [1467-1548], who pretended to be foolish but was actually very wise.)

Informative Summaries

A large portion of each attractively laid out 96-page issue of *stanczyk* is devoted to cogent summaries of articles in libertarian, traditionalist, rightist and nationalist periodicals from foreign lands, including Russia, Germany, France and the United States. Issue No. 19 (1993), for example, has a sympathetic two-page article about the Institute for Historical Review, with a detailed summary of the

IHR *Journal* article, "Simon Wiesenthal: Bogus 'Nazi Hunter'."

A two-page report in issue No. 21 (1994) tells more about *The Journal of Historical Review*, and summarizes in some detail the interview with German historian Prof. Ernst Nolte, from the Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*. An item in issue No. 24 (1995) about the March-April 1994 *Journal* provides a detailed summary of Robert Faurisson's article on the Warsaw ghetto uprising, and a mention of the *Journal* interview with French "New Right" author Alain de Benoist.

Much of *stanczyk* issue No. 22 (1994) is devoted to unresolved historical issues of the Second World War, including a 12-page review by editor Tomasz Gabis of David Irving's book, *Hitler's War*. *Stanczyk* issue No. 30 (1997) contains a two-page summary of IHR Director Mark Weber's article, "Zionism and the Third Reich" (originally published in the July-August 1993 *Journal*), as it appeared in translation in a 1995 issue of the Berlin periodical *Sleipnir*.

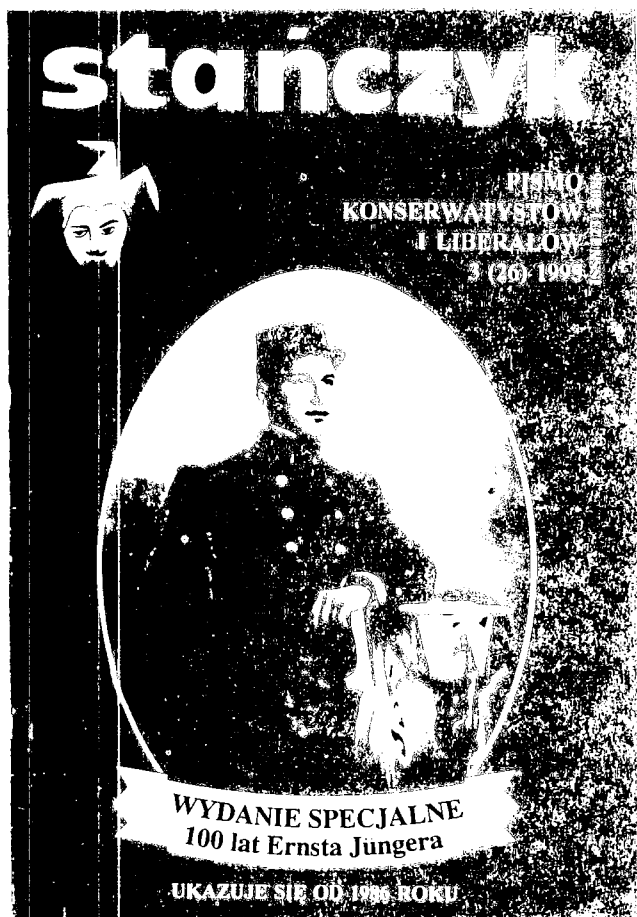
'Holocaust Religion'

In two recent issues of this self-described "conservative and liberal" journal (No. 29 [1996] and No. 30 [1997]), chief editor Tomasz Gabis forthrightly tackles the hottest of hot issues with an impressively written and well-referenced two-part, 57-page essay on the "Holocaust religion." "The Holocaust," he points out, is not treated as a chapter of real human history, but instead is ceaselessly presented as an ever-relevant, quasi-religious "myth."

As Gabis explains, the Holocaust has not only come to play a pivotal role in Jewish religious life and the collective Jewish consciousness, but has become a central element in the cultural, political and intellectual life of the contemporary West, with a profound impact on relations between Jews and non-Jews.

Although the core of this "myth" is Jewish, the Holocaust has been universalized through the mass media and public education, becoming an obligatory prism through which we are expected to view the past, especially 20th century history. Fundamentally not comparable to any other chapter of history, "the Holocaust" is a "cosmic" event marking an entirely new era in human relations. Since Auschwitz, it is claimed, we can never again look at Western civilization, Christianity and even God in the same way.

Like any other potent religion, Gabis notes, the Holocaust has its own shrines, sacred texts, saints, relics, rituals, taboos and heretics. "High priest" Elie Wiesel insists that what he calls "the Event" must be viewed with a kind of mystical reverence. Implicit in Holocaust theology is the doctrine of collective guilt (especially for Germans, but increas-



This 1995 issue of the Polish journal *stanczyk* is devoted to the life, work and impact of German writer Ernst Jünger.

ingly for all non-Jewish humanity), and the notion that Jewish deaths weigh more heavily than those of non-Jews. To the extent that Christian, and especially Roman Catholic, leaders embrace this Holocaust religion, they accept a "Judiazation" of Christianity, and betray their own religious principles and heritage.

Because no people, aside from the Germans, has been so stigmatized by this new religion as the Poles, "the Holocaust" is the basic source of tension in Polish-Jewish relations.

A New Political-Intellectual Conflict

During this final decade of the twentieth century — in the aftermath of the "Cold War" division of Europe and the end of the "postwar era" — the really significant political and intellectual struggle is not between "right" and "left," but rather between the "politically correct" or "taboo-affirming," and iconoclastic insurgents everywhere who oppose the "one world" homogenization of all cultures, races and nations.

Among the "conservative and liberal" periodicals that have emerged around the world in recent years, *stanczyk* is a particularly effective voice defying "left-right" categorization. Now with a circulation of about 2,500, it is sold in bookstores in Warsaw, Krakow, Poznan and other major Polish cities. For further information, write: *stanczyk*, ul. St. Pietaka 9, 51-140 Wrocław, Poland.

The Changing Story: Early Doubts

From the very beginning there were grave doubts about allegations of mass killings of European Jews. Although such reports were a major feature of the Allies' "psychological warfare" campaign during the Second World War, top British and American officials in a position to know what was going on in German-ruled Europe did not believe what their own governments were telling the world.

In July 1943, the chairman of the Britain's Joint Intelligence Committee, Victor Cavendish-Bentinck, commented: "The Poles, and to a far greater extent the Jews, tend to exaggerate German atrocities in order to stoke us up." At the suggestion of the British government, it was therefore agreed to delete the reference to gas chambers from a joint Allied declaration on German atrocities in Poland that was issued later that year by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. (B. Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945* [London: 1979], pp. 295-96.)

During the immediate postwar period — which saw a flurry of often grotesque anti-German atrocity propaganda as well as horrible "revelations" from the Nuremberg trials — a few thoughtful individuals remained skeptical. George Orwell, for example, wondered in May 1945: "Is it true about the German gas ovens in Poland?" (S. Orwell and I. Angus, eds., *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell* [New York: 1968], Vol. 3, p. 371.)

Encyclopaedia Britannica Prudence

More remarkable, there is no mention of "extermination" or "gas chambers" in the early postwar editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, published



Jacob Rader Marcus

from 1947 to 1956 (and perhaps earlier and later). Jewish historian Jacob Rader Marcus provided a prudent and generally accurate description of the wartime fate of Europe's Jews in his essay on modern Jewish history published in these editions of the authoritative reference work. ("Jews," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1947 and 1956 editions, Vol. 13, p. 63 C.)

Under the heading "World War II and the Jews," Marcus wrote:

In World War II the situation of Jewry in the mass settlements of eastern Europe was even worse, for the national socialists set out deliberately to destroy large numbers of Polish and Russian-Jewish civilians. If but a fraction of the atrocities reported were accurate, then many thousands of defenseless Jewish non-combatants, men, women and children, were butchered after September 1939 ...

In the conquered lands, from France to Poland, practically all Jews lost their political and civil rights; their property and businesses were confiscated, and their children, in most lands, were driven out of the elementary and higher schools. They lost the right to freedom of movement and in some lands were even deprived of almost all cultural and recreational opportunities and social relations. Quite a number sought to ameliorate their lot by converting to Christianity, particularly in Slovakia, Croatia, Hungary and Italy ...

In order to effect a solution of the Jewish problem in line with their theories, the Nazis carried out a series of expulsions and deportations of Jews, mostly of original east European stock, from nearly all European states. Men, frequently separated from their wives, and mothers from their children, were sent by the thousands to Poland and western Russia. There they were put into concentration camps, or huge reservations, or sent into the swamps, or out on the roads, into labour gangs. Large numbers of them perished under the inhuman conditions under which they laboured. While every other large Jewish centre was being embroiled in war, American Jewry was gradually assuming a position of leadership in world Jewry.

Marcus' relatively reserved treatment of this issue, entirely ignoring the lurid horror stories then in wide circulation, is all the more noteworthy in light of his stature as an eminent scholar of Jewish history. He had studied in Germany during the early 1920s, receiving his doctorate from the University of Berlin in 1925. During his lifetime he

authored more than 250 scholarly articles and numerous acclaimed historical studies, including *The Rise and Destiny of the German Jew* (1934), *The Jew in the Medieval World* (1938), and a four-volume work, *United States Jewry, 1776-1985* (1989-93). At the time of his death in November 1995, Marcus was a distinguished professor of American Jewish history at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion.

With the passage of time, the scholarly circumspection shown by Marcus in this *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article has become very rare, even among prominent scholars. Encouraged by an intense and growing media campaign in the United States, historians dealt with the wartime fate of Europe's Jews in an ever more credulous, subjective and even quasi-religious fashion. This trend, which became particularly more pronounced after the 1970s, shows no sign of diminishing.

— M.W.

A German Voice for National Integrity and Freedom

For more than four decades, *Nation und Europa* has been a vigorous and intelligent German voice for "democratic patriotism" and national and cultural integrity. Since 1951, this thoughtfully edited and well written illustrated monthly magazine has defied the prevailing intellectual-political climate. It has a handsome cover, attractive layout, and handy format. Many of the articles and reviews are brief and "newsy." A typical issue is 80 pages.

N+E routinely tackles relevant issues of contemporary history, notably on the Second World War and Third Reich Germany. For example, Stalin's war plans and the background to Hitler's June 1941 "Barbarossa" attack against Soviet Russia have been the subject of numerous articles and reviews in recent years. Within the legal limits, it deals judiciously with the dangerous Holocaust issue. It has, for example, published an interview with American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter, and has informed readers about the results of his historic 1988 on-site forensic examination of the alleged execution "gas chambers" at Auschwitz.

N+E staunchly defends the cultural heritage and ethnic identity and of all nations. Citing news items from across Europe and around Germany, it routinely reports on the harmful consequences of "foreignization" for all peoples. It speaks out against a homogenized, centrally-administered Europe, and the spirit of "one worldism" and "multiculturalism" behind this campaign. It urges "democratic renewal" in Germany through referendums to

authentically express the popular sentiment on such critically important issues as Third World immigration.

N+E reports on the steady erosion of civil liberties in Germany through "politically correct" censorship and government restrictions on free historical research and writing.

N+E serves as a leading strategic guide for Germany's fractured national-patriotic opposition. Not tied to any particular political party or group, it reports sympathetically on all factions of the country's "right wing." Each issue of *N+E* also features news about nationalist political parties, organizations and periodicals across Europe.

Among the magazine's most talented contributors is Wolfgang Strauss, who provides first-rate reporting and commentary on Russia, Ukraine and other countries of the former Soviet Union, as well as outstanding essays on German, Russian and Ukrainian history.

Franz Schönhuber, the best-selling author and former head of the *Republikaner* party, is a regular *N+E* columnist. Another contributor is German historian Georg Franz-Willing, who is also a member of this *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee (and

1986 IHR Conference speaker). *N+E* has also published two books by Franz-Willing.

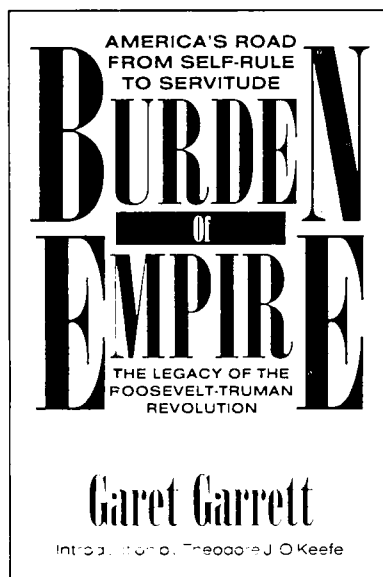
N+E has made friendly mention of the Institute for Historical Review and its *Journal*. In one issue, it told readers that the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*

has carried on a determined struggle against the historical lies that have a daily impact on Germany. It is published in the USA, where a person can speak about some issues more openly than here in the "freest state in German history"... We warmly recommend this issue to anyone interested in contemporary history.

Now with a circulation of about 15,000, *Nation und Europa* is published jointly by Peter Dehoust, Harald Neubauer (a former member of the European Parliament), and, until his recent death, Adolf von Thadden (historian and one-time political figure).

A yearly subscription (surface mail) costs DM 128. Write: *Nation und Europa*, Postfach 25 54, 96414 Coburg, Germany.

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Originally serialized in the London Sunday Telegraph, this is the best-selling book that launched David Irving's career as a world-renowned historian.

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In this concise, eye-opening book, British Parliament member Arthur Ponsonby deftly exposes the most scurrilous propaganda tales of the 1914-1918 war.

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Ponsonby reveals how all the belligerents, but foremost his own country, faked documents, falsified photos, and invented horrifying atrocity stories.

In a foreword written for this handsome IHR edition, historian Mark Weber points out fascinating parallels with World War II atrocity tales. The "corpse factory" fable, for example, was revived during the Second World War with the Allied claim that the Germans manufactured soap from Jewish corpses.

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- Bayoneted Belgian babies.
- The "corpse factory" where the Germans manufactured lubricating oil and fats from the bodies of dead soldiers.
- The Belgian girl whose hands were chopped off by the bestial Germans.
- German responsibility for starting the war.
- The barbaric U-boat sinking of the innocent passenger liner *Lusitania*.
- The "martyrdom" of Nurse Cavell.

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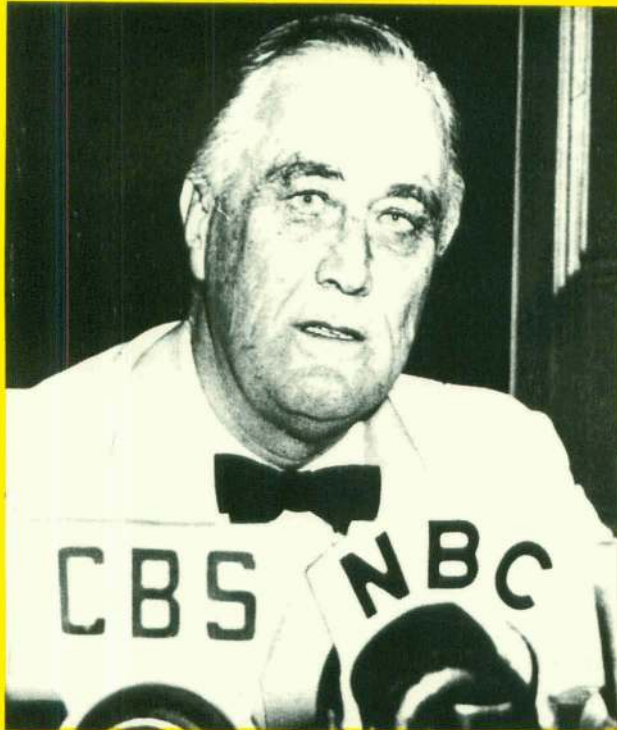


The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 16, Number 5

September / October 1997

Roosevelt and Truman: Putting Alien Interests First



How Historian Gilbert Falsifies

Robert Faurisson

Roosevelt and Stalin

Joseph Sobran

Truman's Fateful Decision for Israel

Donald Neff

Stutthof Camp

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Gertrude Stein's Complex Views

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Hitler as

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The Notin Affair

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— And More —

WHO REALLY KILLED THE ROMANOVs. . . AND WHY?

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A SKELETON KEY TO THE TRUTH ABOUT THE SOVIET SLAUGHTERHOUSE

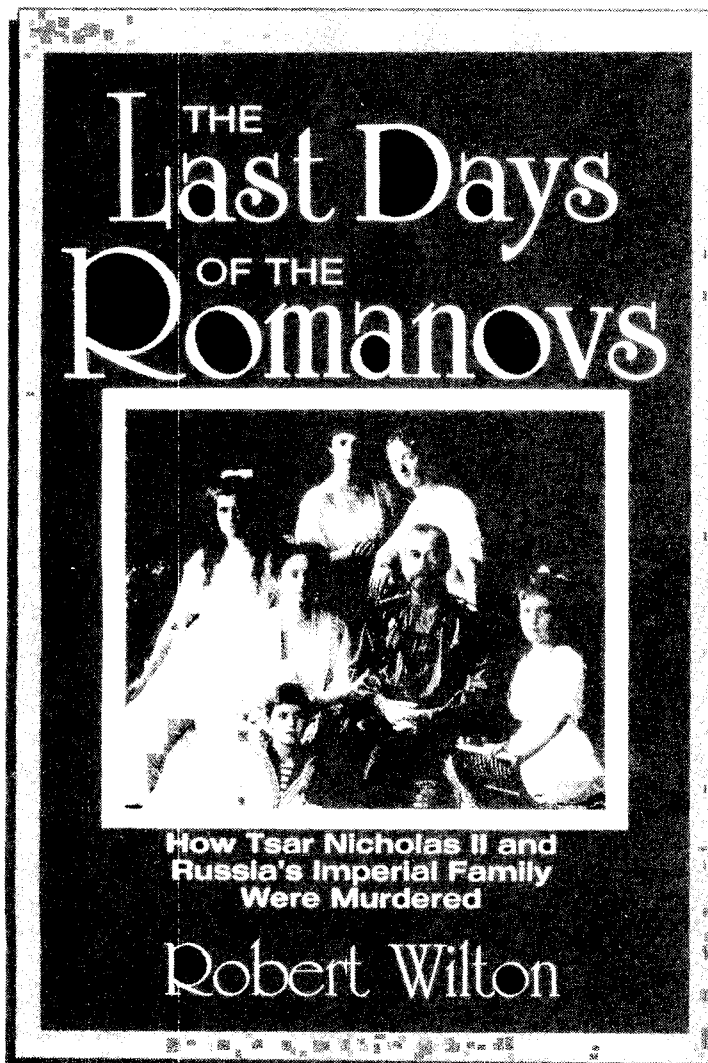
Wilton's book, *The Last Days of the Romanovs*, based on the evidence gathered by Russian investigative magistrate Nikolai Sokolov, was published in France, England, and America at the beginning of the 1920's—but it soon vanished from the bookstores and almost all library shelves, and was ignored in later "approved" histories. The most explosive secret of Wilton's book—the *role that racial revenge played in the slaughter of the Romanovs*—had to be concealed. And it continued to be concealed for decades—as the same motive claimed the lives of millions of Christian Russians, Ukrainians, Balts, and other helpless victims of the Red cabal.

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The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the tradition of Historical Revisionism of scholars such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A.J.P. Taylor, William H. Chamberlin, Paul Rassinier and Charles Tansill. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the **Institute for Historical Review**, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659. Subscription price: \$40 per year, \$65 for two years, and \$90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add \$10 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add \$30 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in US dollars drawable on a US bank.

Single issues — Spring 1986 (Volume 7) to the present — are available for sale for \$7.50 each, plus \$2.00 shipping. Back issues of the *Journal* are also available for purchase in hardbound annual volumes for the years 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991 and 1992, for \$35.00 each, plus \$3.00 shipping. Please write for our booklist and prices. Quantity subscription and bulk issue rates are available upon request.

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An Important but Little-Known Wartime Camp **Stutthof**

MARK WEBER

While Stutthof is not as well known as other wartime German camps, a close look at the history of this important internment center actually tells more about the reality of the Third Reich's "final solution" policy than studies of much better known camps such as Dachau or Buchenwald. In particular, a dispassionate look at the pattern of Jewish deportations to and from this camp, and the treatment of the inmates there, simply cannot be reconciled with a wartime German program or policy to exterminate Jews.

Stutthof (Sztutowo in Polish) was located 36 kilometers east of the city of Danzig (now the Polish city of Gdansk) in a wooded clearing near the Baltic coast at the mouth of the Vistula river. Hastily set up as an emergency internment center in September 1939, as German forces were subduing Poland, it was soon established on a more permanent basis, and in 1942 was officially designated as a concentration camp.¹

In 1943 and 1944 it was considerably enlarged until it included three large sections encompassing an area 2.5 by 1.2 kilometers. The Stutthof camp complex eventually embraced several dozen smaller satellite camps spread across a large part of East and West Prussia. In addition to administration and general upkeep work in the camp itself, inmates were employed in nearby workshops and factories that turned out equipment and clothing for the German armed forces. Other internees worked in a camp brick factory and greenhouse, and on nearby agricultural projects, quarries, ports and airfields. Inmates could send letters and receive parcels. At the end of 1943, a new regulation prohibited punishment by beating.²

Until 1944 there were relatively few Jewish internees. Most of the prisoners were Poles. In the fall of 1943 several hundred Jews found in hiding in the Bialystok ghetto (after the suppression of the uprising there) were transferred to Stutthof.³ Beginning in June 1944, large numbers of Jews began arriving at Stutthof from Auschwitz. The first shipment of 2,500 Jewish women from Auschwitz-Birkenau was soon sent on to several hundred factories in the Baltic region. Between June and October 1944, 20,000 to 30,000 Jewish women, originally from Hungary, arrived at Stutthof from Auschwitz. In addition, Jewish women originally from the Lodz

ghetto also arrived at Stutthof from Auschwitz.⁴

During the summer and fall of 1944, as Soviet forces advanced toward the Baltic region, thousands of Jews, including Jewish mothers and their children, were evacuated to Stutthof from more than a dozen camps and remnant ghettos in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. In particular, Jews were transferred from the camps at Riga (Latvia) and Kaunas (Lithuania), and the ghetto of Siauliai (Lithuania) in July 1944. Most were evacuated by sea on scarce ships.⁵

During the second half of 1944, as Soviet forces continued their westward advance, the Germans transferred large numbers of Jews, including hundreds of Jewish children, from Lithuania and Estonia through Stutthof to Auschwitz.⁶ Many of these evacuees were Jews who had earlier been deported to the Baltic region from Germany as part of the "final solution" policy of mass deportation to occupied Soviet territories in the "East."⁷

These transfers to Stutthof are difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile with a German policy to annihilate Europe's Jews. If there had been such an extermination policy, it is particularly difficult to understand why Jews from the Baltic region — all of whom were supposedly doomed — were evacuated on Germany's overtaxed transportation system instead of being killed on the spot. The fact that many of the Jews evacuated by the Germans from the Baltic area to Stutthof were unemployable children is particularly difficult to reconcile with a general extermination policy.⁸

This new influx dramatically changed the camp's character. By late 1944, Jews made up about 70 percent of the inmate population. Russians constituted about 20 percent, and other nationalities made up the remaining ten percent.⁹ The camp was divided into separate male and female compounds. Most of the inmates were reportedly young, above all Jewish girls and young women between the ages of 13 and 22. There was a separate barracks block for Jewish boys below the age of 17. As a rule, Jews did not have to work, although some were occasionally assigned to farm work on the outside.¹⁰

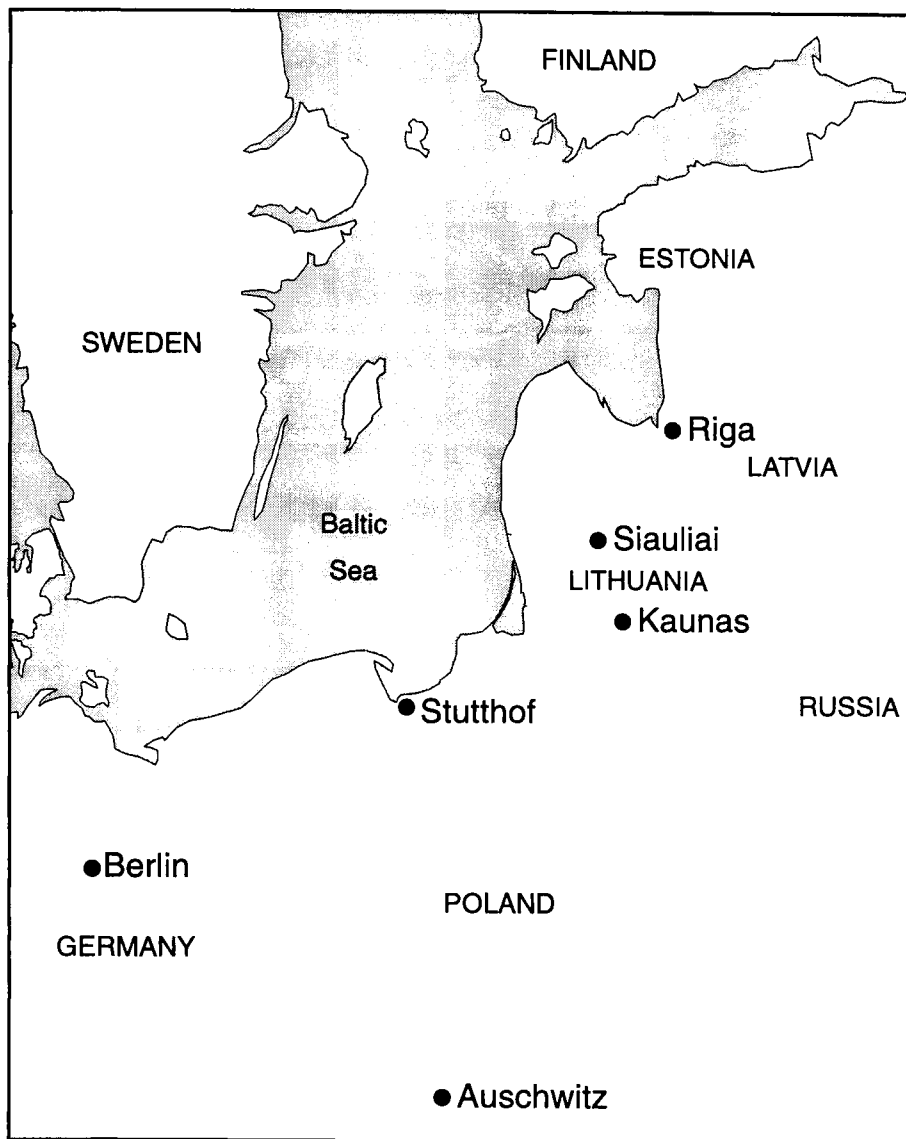
As a result of the chaos and tremendous overcrowding brought about by the worsening military situation, conditions in the camp deteriorated badly during 1944. Although new arrivals were routinely

subjected to a quarantine period of two to four weeks, an epidemic of typhus broke out in the second half of the year. The death rate rose dramatically and reached a high point at the end of that year, when nine percent of the total inmate population reportedly died during December 1944. Besides typhus, inmates fell victim to enteric fever and hunger.¹¹

Camp administrators did what they could under the almost impossible conditions to save lives. Hospital facilities for inmates were greatly expanded, and eventually took up a whole complex of barracks. Inmate physicians and nurses, as well as SS medical personnel, worked in these facilities, which were divided into 12 departments. Unfortunately, care for sick internees was severely limited by a serious lack of medicines and proper instruments.¹² In mid-January 1945, there were about 50,000 Stutthof inmates, about half of whom were in the main camp. There were 29,000 Jewish internees, including nearly 26,000 women.¹³

On January 25, 1945, with Soviet forces only a few kilometers away and the sound of gunfire audible in the distance, camp commandant SS Major Paul-Werner Hoppe, acting on higher instructions, ordered a general evacuation of internees to the interior of the Reich. Sick inmates, as well as a group needed to dissolve the camp, were to remain behind, he added.¹⁴ Israeli Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer has acknowledged the difficulty of reconciling this evacuation order with an extermination policy. At a 1981 conference, he asked rhetorically: "What was their [the Germans'] intention? Why did the SS march these people away? ... Why did the commander of the camp in Stutthof give an order in January 1945 that everybody was to march except for the sick?"¹⁵

Coming as it did in the middle of winter, this mass evacuation in groups of fifteen hundred each



Stutthof served as an important German concentration camp during the final months of the Second World War. In the summer of 1944, more than 20,000 Jewish prisoners arrived there from Auschwitz, many of whom were sent on to factories in the Baltic region. During the summer and fall of 1944, as Soviet forces advanced from the East, German authorities evacuated thousands of Jews to Stutthof from ghettos and camps in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. In early 1945, as the Soviet advance continued, the Germans evacuated Jews further westward from Stutthof. These large-scale transfers make no sense whatsoever if the German policy had been to kill all Jews under German control.

was a terrible ordeal that claimed many thousands of lives. The ten-day march was carried out in snow and freezing temperatures, with very little food or adequate shelter. One Polish historian has estimated that 30,000 died during this evacuation trek.¹⁶ One group of evacuees was rescued by Soviet forces in February 1945, but many in this group died after their liberation.¹⁷

Stutthof's prisoners were not the only ones to

endure this terrible calamity. During this same period, hundreds of thousands of German civilians, most of them women and children, as well civilians of other nationalities, were slowly making their way westward in the snow and freezing weather. Many of these people also died during the winter trek.¹⁸

In March and April 1945, Soviet war planes repeatedly attacked the Stutthof camp. A bomb that hit the Jewish hospital on March 26, 1945, killed 28 and wounded 35.¹⁹ During the following weeks, Soviet air and artillery strikes became more frequent. By April 20, 1945, a former Jewish inmate later recalled²⁰

Stutthof was bombarded from the air and ground. The bombing went on day and night.... The Stutthof camp was enormous and from one end to the other it was burning down from the air attacks. Countless numbers of *Katzetler* [inmates] were killed by the bombs. I myself was lucky, because a bomb hit our ward and three-quarters of the sick were killed or wounded.

Evacuation by Sea

In late April 1945, with Stutthof now cut off from unoccupied Germany except by sea, it was finally decided to evacuate the 3,000 or so Jewish women still remaining in the camp. One inmate who was evacuated on a cargo ship later recalled her terrible ordeal:²¹

We sailed and sailed and went into ports many times. Which, I can't remember. But no port would let us stay because there was a yellow flag flying from the top, meaning the ship was supposed to be carrying people with contagious diseases on board. ...At every port, the captain declared that he was carrying women refugees and asked permission to unload them.

But time and time again they were turned away, although at one port some German soldiers gave them some bread. With almost no water or food, the ship drifted for eleven days from one port to another. During this terrible period, Allied planes twice attacked the unarmed vessel, killing many of the Jews on board. During a third bombing attack, which came while the ship was anchored outside of Kiel harbor and only a day before the arrival of British troops there, the vessel caught fire and sank. Many died in the flames or during the mad scramble to get on deck, and others drowned. One survivor recalls that all but 33 of the 2,000 Jewish women on board perished.²²

The final evacuation from Stutthof took place on April 27, 1945. Under attack from Soviet warplanes,

the prisoners were loaded onto several barges at nearby Hela harbor, which were then towed westward to territory still under German control. One barge, packed with sick inmates, was destined for Kiel. Others were taken to the port town of Neustadt near Lübeck.²³ One Polish historian has estimated that 3,000 of the Stutthof internees who were evacuated by sea lost their lives in the ordeal.²⁴

Not all of Stutthof's inmates were evacuated. Hundreds who were not able to move were left behind in the camp, which remained in German hands as part of the fiercely defended Danzig enclave until it was surrendered to Soviet forces on May 10, 1945.²⁵

Gas Chamber Allegations

Some historians have insisted that prisoners were killed at Stutthof in a camp gas chamber.²⁶ According to a 1985 statement by Munich's Institute for Contemporary History "more than one thousand" people were killed in a Stutthof gas chamber.²⁷ However, the evidence cited for homicidal gassings at Stutthof is meager and not very credible. The camp's "gas chamber" building, which is still intact, is a small brick structure about two and a half meters high, five meters in length, three meters wide. American historian Konnilyn Feig has written that it looks "almost like a toy." Polish officials have seriously claimed that the Germans gassed one hundred persons at a time in the chamber (that is, six or seven persons per square meter). Homicidal gassings with Zyklon were supposedly carried out intermittently between June and December 1944 in this chamber.²⁸

Polish historian Krzysztof Dunin-Wasowicz believes that this building was neither designed nor built as a homicidal gassing facility. In an essay published in a semi-official work about the alleged homicidal "gas chambers," he writes that this building was built as a (non-homicidal) gas chamber for treating clothes. However, he goes on to claim that this it was sometimes also improvisationally used to kill people. ("Originally the gas chamber was built as a room for delousing clothing, and it continued to be used for this purpose, too, for as long as it existed.")²⁹

Interestingly, the "gas chamber" building is not at all hidden or camouflaged, nor is it disguised as a shower. Therefore, if it had actually been used as a homicidal gassing facility, prospective victims apparently would have been under no illusion about the fate that awaited them. It is worth noting that the Germans in charge of the camp never made any effort to destroy or dismantle Stutthof's supposed "extermination facility," which is difficult to believe if, in fact, it had been a execution gas chamber.³⁰

A West German court that heard "eyewitness

testimony" about homicidal gassings at Stutthof declared in its 1964 verdict that "with regard to the gassings a positive determination was likewise not possible." Evidence given by several supposed witnesses of gassings was found to be dubious or not credible.³¹ Raul Hilberg makes no mention of homicidal gassings at Stutthof in his detailed three-volume Holocaust work. Two other prominent Holocaust historians, Lucy Dawidowicz and Nora Levin, likewise said nothing about the camp's alleged extermination facility.

Estimates of Victims

According to Polish historian Czeslaw Pili-chowski, director of Poland's "Central Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes," of the 120,000 people (Jews and non-Jews) who were ever interned in Stutthof or its satellite camps, 85,000 died.³² Polish historian Krzysztof Dunin-Wasowicz has estimated that of the camp's 120,000 inmates, "about 80,000 of them either died or were murdered."³³ Another Polish historian gives a "conservative" estimate of 65,000 Stutthof victims.³⁴

Altogether more than 52,000 Jews were interned in Stutthof and its satellite camps, according to Jewish historian Martin Gilbert and the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Only about 3,000 survived, they estimate, and add that perhaps 26,000 of the Jewish victims died or drowned during the evacuation in 1945.³⁵

Although it is difficult to determine the actual number of deaths with any precision, in this regard it is important to keep in mind that the great majority of Stutthof's victims were direct and indirect victims of war, including thousands who lost their lives in Allied air attacks during the final weeks of fighting. As was also the case at Dachau, Buchenwald and other German camps, a considerable portion of those who died in the Stutthof main camp were victims of typhus and other diseases who succumbed during the final months of the war.

As we have seen, most Stutthof victims apparently lost their lives in the grim and hastily organized evacuations by foot or sea. As harsh as they were, these evacuations were not part of any extermination program. In spite of its high death rate, Stutthof was certainly not an "extermination camp," and the many deaths there were not the result of a policy or program.

Notes

1. Krzysztof Dunin-Wasowicz, "Stutthof," in: I. Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 1421, 1423.
2. Krzysztof Dunin-Wasowicz, *Oboz Koncentracyjny Stutthof* (Gdynia: 1966), pp. 253-254 (English-lan-

guage abstract); "Stutthof," *Gedenkbuch* (Koblenz: Bundesarchiv, 1986), p. 1772.

3. "Stutthof," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (New York and Jerusalem: Macmillan and Keter, 1971), vol. 15, p. 464; Martin Gilbert, *Atlas of the Holocaust* (New York: William Morrow, 1993), pp. 194-195.
4. Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz: Die Technik des Massenmordes* (München: Piper, 1994), p. 199. (In the earlier, French edition of this book, Pressac writes of the deportation of 40,000-50,000 Hungarian Jewish women from Auschwitz to Stutthof and surrounding area. Jean-Claude Pressac, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: La Machinerie du Meurtre de Masse* [CNRS Editions, 1993], p. 147.); "Stutthof," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), vol. 15, p. 464; Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (New York: 1986), p. 686; M. Gilbert, *Atlas of the Holocaust* (1993), p. 194.
5. "Stutthof," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), vol. 15, p. 464; Roman Hrabar, et al, *The Fate of Polish Children During the Last War* (Warsaw: 1981), p. 72; M. Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (1986), pp. 705, 722; *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), vol. 6, p. 917; M. Gilbert, *Atlas of the Holocaust* (1993), pp. 200, 207, 208, 209; Benjamin B. Ferencz, *Less Than Slaves* (Harvard, 1979), p. 107; "Stutthof," *Gedenkbuch* (1986), p. 1772; Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985), p. 985.
6. Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (1994), pp. 417, 420.
7. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Univ. Press Amsterdam, 1968 ff.), vol. 20, p. 600, or p. 585-6 (Verdict in 1964 Tübingen case Ks 5/63).
8. R. Hrabar, et al, *The Fate of Polish Children During the Last War* (1981), p. 72.
9. Olga M. Pickholz-Barnitsch, "The Evacuation of the Stutthof Concentration Camp," *Yad Vashem Bulletin* (Israel), No. 17, Dec. 1965, p. 37.
10. Olga M. Pickholz-Barnitsch, "The Evacuation," *Yad Vashem Bulletin*, Dec. 1965, p. 36.
11. K. Dunin-Wasowicz, *Oboz Koncentracyjny Stutthof* (1966), pp. 252, 255; Olga M. Pickholz-Barnitsch, "The Evacuation," *Yad Vashem Bulletin*, Dec. 1965, p. 37; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, p. 600; Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland, *German Crimes in Poland* (Warsaw: 1946-1947), vol. 2, p. 112.
12. K. Dunin-Wasowicz, *Oboz Koncentracyjny Stutthof* (1966), p. 252.
13. K. Dunin-Wasowicz, *Oboz Koncentracyjny Stutthof* (Gdynia: 1966), pp. 253-254; "Stutthof," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 15, p. 464.
14. Hoppe order, Jan. 25, 1945. Nuremberg document NO-3796.
15. Brewster Chamberlain and M. Feldman, eds., *The Liberation of the Nazi Concentration Camps 1945* (Washington, DC: USHMC, 1987), p. 92.
16. K. Dunin-Wasowicz, *Oboz Koncentracyjny Stutthof* (1966), p. 257; Konnilyn Feig, *Hitler's Death Camps*

- (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1981), p. 202; "Stutthof," *Gedenkbuch* (1986), p. 1772; M. Gilbert, *Atlas of the Holocaust* (1993), pp. 216-217.
17. M. Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (1986), p. 783.
 18. See: Alfred-Maurice de Zayas, *Nemesis at Potsdam: The Expulsion of the Germans From the East* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska, 1989; 3rd rev. ed.), and, Alfred-Maurice de Zayas, *The German Expellees: Victims in War and Peace* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).
 19. M. Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (1986), p. 786.
 20. Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution* (New York: Stein and Day, 1982), pp. 322-323.
 21. I. Trunk, *Jewish Responses* (1982), pp. 323-326.
 22. I. Trunk, *Jewish Responses* (1982), pp. 323-326.
 23. R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1985), p. 985; O. Pickholz-Barnitsch, "The Evacuation," *Yad Vashem Bulletin*, Dec. 1965, p. 37; M. Gilbert, *Atlas of the Holocaust* (1993), pp. 228-229.
 24. R. Hrabar, et al, *Fate of Polish Children* (1981), p. 74. See also: M. Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (1986), p. 806.
 25. "Stutthof," *Gedenkbuch* (1986), p. 1772; K. Feig, *Hitler's Death Camps* (1981), p. 203.
 26. Eugen Kogen, et al., *Nazi Mass Murder* (New Haven, Conn.: 1994), pp. 190-193, and, in the original German-language edition, *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas* (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1986), pp. 263-266; The entry by K. Dunin-Wasowicz in the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: 1990), p. 1423, refers to "the camp's gas chambers" (plural).
 27. Statement by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Hellmuth Auerbach), March 6, 1985. Facsimile in: I. Weckert, "Massentötungen" oder Desinformation, "Historische Tatsachen Nr. 24" (published by U. Walendy in 1985), p. 21.
 28. E. Kogen, et al., *Nazi Mass Murder* (1994), p. 191 (in the 1986 German edition, *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas*, this is p. 263); *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam), vol. 20, p. 600 or p. 585-6 (Verdict in 1964 Tübingen case Ks 5/63.); K. Feig, *Hitler's Death Camps* (1981), pp. 192-193, 200; Central Commission..., *German Crimes in Poland* (Warsaw: 1946-1947), vol. 2, pp. 118-119.
 29. E. Kogen, et al., *Nazi Mass Murder* (1994), p. 191 (in the 1986 German edition, *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas*, this is p. 263).
 30. It has also been claimed that Jews were gassed at Stutthof with Zyklon in a rail car. See: E. Kogen, et al., *Nazi Mass Murder* (1994), pp. 192-193; Central Commission..., *German Crimes in Poland* (Warsaw: 1946-1947), vol. 2, p. 119.
 31. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam), vol. 20, p. 615.
 32. Czeslaw Pilichowski, *No Time Limit for These Crimes* (Warsaw: Interpress, 1980), pp. 156-157.
 33. K. Dunin-Wasowicz, *Oboz Koncentracyjny Stutthof* (1966), p. 255.
 34. Szymon Datner, et al, *Le Genocide Nazi 1939-1945* (Warsaw: 1962), p. 218.
 35. "Stutthof," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 15, p. 464; M. Gilbert, *Atlas of the Holocaust* (1993), pp. 195, 217.; According to Polish historian K. Dunin-Wasowicz, "Of the fifty thousand Jews who were brought to Stutthof, nearly all died." Source: *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: 1990), p. 1423.

A Video that Revises History —And Could Change the Course of It

Out of all the footage I brought back, nothing is more significant, or of more vital importance, than the interview I conducted in Poland with Dr. Franciszek Piper of the Auschwitz State Museum. He felt comfortable enough to talk with me for an hour in his office at Auschwitz. The result should keep people talking for quite some time. —David Cole

Equipped with a Super VHS camera, a microphone, a list of questions, and a sense of humor, Revisionist David Cole traveled to Auschwitz in September 1992 and produced a video of that trip that is, to put it mildly, *devastating*. Cole not only documents on tape the falsehoods told Auschwitz visitors every day by unknowing tour guides, he shows that the very people who run the museum aren't at all sure about their main attraction—the "gas chamber"!

Here is dramatic confirmation of what Revisionists have been saying about the Holocaust for more than 20 years, graphically presented on video so you can see and hear for yourself the tour guides and the museum's director, and examine the layout of the camp with its buildings and their surroundings. For those who cannot afford the trip to Europe to see all this for themselves, this video brings Auschwitz, as well as *The Leuchter Report*, to life right in your living room.

Most devastating of all is Cole's interview with Dr. Piper, in which the director of the Auschwitz Museum casually admits to postwar alterations of the room that for decades has been shown to tourists as an unaltered, "original state" gas chamber.

Professionally produced in full color and crisp sound, the tape runs just under an hour. If you've been waiting for a concise, intelligent, and persuasive presentation on the Holocaust that you can comfortably show to friends and family, *that video is here!* For those with no access to a video player, the soundtrack is available on C-60 audio cassette.

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How Historian Gilbert Falsifies and Invents

ROBERT FAURISSON

British historian Martin Gilbert is a falsifier. While he is best known as the official biographer of Winston Churchill, he has also written several widely-lauded works on the "Holocaust." Gilbert, who is Jewish, staunchly defends the thesis of the so-called extermination of the Jews, an extermination allegedly carried out in particular by means of homicidal "gas chambers" and homicidal "gas vans." To defend this thesis he falsifies and invents.

Falsifying the 'Gerstein Document'

In his distortion of the "Gerstein Document" in 1979 and 1986, Gilbert showed that he is capable of falsification. The various postwar confessions of SS officer Kurt Gerstein, known collectively as the "Gerstein Document" are completely devoid of any scholarly value, as Paul Rassinier showed in the 1960s and as the studies of Henri Roques in France (with my collaboration) and Carlo Mattogno in Italy established in 1985. (See: H. Roques, *The "Confessions" of Kurt Gerstein*, published by the IHR.) But just like French Jewish historian Léon Poliakov, Martin Gilbert used these confessions to support his thesis. Here I will show how he did that and, for the sake of clarity here, I am adding emphasis to some of the figures mentioned.

Speaking about the alleged gas chamber at Belzec, Kurt Gerstein wrote:

Die Menschen stehen einander auf den Füßen, 700-800 Menschen auf 25 Quadratmetern in 45 Kubikmetern ... 750 Menschen in 45 Kubikmetern. ("The people stand on each other's feet, 700-800 people on 25 square meters in 45 cubic meters ... 750 people in 45 cubic meters.") (Source: page 5 of Nuremberg document PS-2170, as Gilbert indicates.)

It is obviously impossible for 700 to 800 people to stand on a surface of 25 square meters and inside a space of 45 cubic meters. That would be the same as trying to fit 28 to 32 persons in a space that is one square meter in surface area, and 1.8 meters high. The fact that Gerstein made such a statement to the Allies, who held him as their prisoner, shows what his mental condition was. He always used these same figures, repeating them on several occasions.

But Gilbert completely changed these numbers in an effort to make Gerstein's tale believable. He even changed them in one way in 1979 and in another way in 1986.

In his 1979 book, *Final Journey: The Fate of the Jews in Nazi Europe* (New York: Mayflower Books, p. 91), here is how Gilbert quoted Gerstein: "The naked people stand on each other's feet. About seven to eight hundred people in an area of about a hundred square meters."

Among other distortions, Gilbert quadrupled the surface of the gas chamber, removed the mention of the cubic meters and likewise left out the number 750. Finally, he left out the repetition by Gerstein of the mention of cubic meters. If he had retained the mention, made twice, of the 45 cubic meters, we would have had a gas chamber of around 100 square meters and of 45 cubic meters, that is to say a room containing around 700 to 800 persons standing that would have been less than a half meter high.

In a 1986 work, though, Gilbert revises this, quoting Gerstein as saying: "Seven to eight hundred people in ninety-three square meters." (Source: *The Holocaust: The Jewish Tragedy*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, p. 427. On page 864 Gilbert indicates as his source: "Kurt Gerstein, statement of May 6, 1945, Tübingen: International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, document PS-2170.")

In this case, the number 25 has been replaced with the number 93. A precise figure was apparently chosen to give the impression of exactitude and rigor. Once again, all references to cubic meters



Martin Gilbert

have disappeared.

For this reason alone we must conclude that Gilbert deliberately falsified the writings of Gerstein. He falsified them in a number of other ways as well, most notably by editing the text so as to hide other nonsensical things Gerstein said. (That's also the method used by Léon Poliakov.)

Inventing 'Gassing' Figures

In his effort to sustain the invented story that masses of Jews were gassed at Belzec, Treblinka and elsewhere, Gilbert engages in a deceitful manipulation of figures. In his 1981 book, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, p. 26), he wrote:

The deliberate attempt to destroy systematically all of Europe's Jews was unsuspected in the spring and early summer of 1942: the very period during which it was at its most intense, and during which hundreds of thousands of Jews were being gassed every day at Belzec, Chelmno, Sobibor and Treblinka.

For the moment, let's not concern ourselves with the fact that no one was ever gassed at those camps, nor in any other camp either. Instead, let us focus on Gilbert's use of figures. Let us suppose that "hundreds of thousands" means only 200,000. That would make 200,000 Jews gassed per day, and therefore 1,400,000 each week. If during the spring and the early summer we have four months, or 17 weeks — that makes 1,400,000 a week, times 17 weeks, for a total of 23,800,000 Jews gassed in just those four small camps, and during a period of just four months!

More can be said about Martin Gilbert, about his ignorance of history, his dishonesty and even his empty productivity. On December 3, 1986, I wrote to him to ask for some explanations about the way he reproduced the Gerstein texts. He never answered.

— March 4, 1987

Bias and Objectivity

"I consider the 'objective' presentation [of the Palestine Liberation Organization] biased and distorted ... The obsession with objectivity can be stretched so far as to become advocacy of the most vicious side of contemporary life. Does anyone really believe that an 'objective' presentation of Nazism will lead to anything but recruitment for it?"

— Rabbi David Polish, "Minority Report" column, *Chicago Jewish Sentinel*, Nov. 23, 1978.

THE FORCED WAR



When Peaceful Revision Failed

By David L. Hoggan

"In its present form, [*The Forced War*] not only constitutes the first thorough study of the responsibility for the causes of the Second World War in any language but is likely to remain the definitive revisionist work on this subject for many years."

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Working with Stalin

JOSEPH SOBRAN

Pal Joey

Thanks to cable TV, I recently caught up with an old movie I'd somehow missed for half a century: "Mission to Moscow." I wish everyone could see it; unfortunately, but understandably, it isn't available on video. It richly merits a belated review. You might say it's a time capsule from the Roosevelt Administration.

I'd heard of it, of course. It was a wartime film, made in 1943, long notorious for its shining portrayal of our Soviet allies. Like most old things, it now tells you a lot about its time without intending to.

"Mission to Moscow" is based on a book of the same name by Joseph Davies, Franklin Roosevelt's ambassador to the Soviet Union during the late 1930s. Saul Bellow once called Davies "one of the most disgraceful appointments in the history of diplomacy." That only sounds like a heated exaggeration until you look for yourself.

I'd always assumed that the movie was the handiwork of Hollywood's Reds, back before the blacklist did its salutary work. Not at all. Jack Warner, of Warner Brothers, made the movie at Roosevelt's urging, after dining with Roosevelt and Davies at the White House. Roosevelt explained that a film version of Davies' book would help the war effort, and Warner patriotically assented on the spot, little knowing what he was in for.

It was a major production, with Michael Curtiz, who had just won an Oscar for "Casablanca," directing. The score was composed by Max ("Gone with the Wind") Steiner. Walter Huston, an excellent actor now best known for "The Treasure of the Sierra Madre" (which his son John directed), played Davies. The real Davies appeared in the film before the opening credits to deliver a prologue, in which he explained that he hoped to dispel "prejudice and misunderstanding" about the Soviet Union. Roosevelt was portrayed in the film too, with due

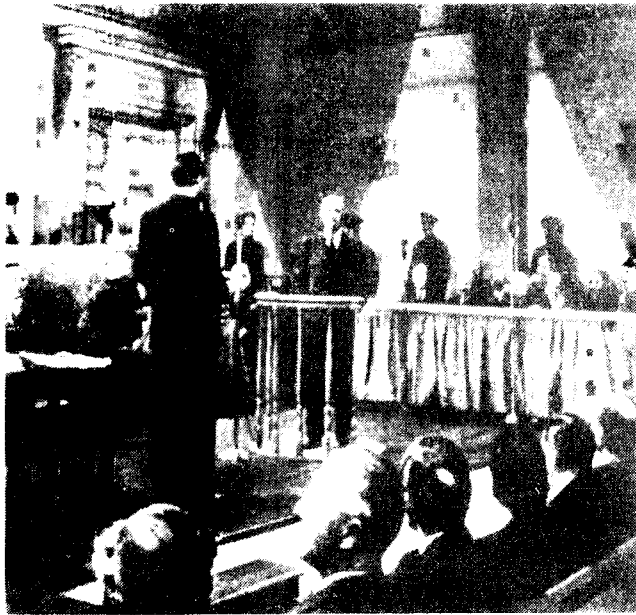
Joseph Sobran is a nationally-syndicated columnist, lecturer, author (most recently of *Alias Shakespeare*), and editor of the monthly newsletter *Sobran's* (PO Box 1383, Vienna, VA 22183). "Pal Joey" is reprinted from the August 1995 issue of *Sobran's*, and "The Hiss Case" from the January 1997 issue.



Walter Huston, right, plays the role of US ambassador Joseph Davies in a scene from "Mission to Moscow." Davies' wife is played by Eleanor Parker, center, and Ann Harding, left, plays their daughter. Directed by Michael Curtiz (born Mikhaly Kertesz), this 1943 Warner Brothers picture flatteringly portrays Soviet dictator Stalin and his regime during the period when the Soviet Union was a close military ally of the United States. Along with "North Star," "Song of Russia," "Counter Attack," and "Days of Glory," this was one of several pro-Soviet and anti-German films produced by Hollywood during the war to encourage popular acceptance of America's alliance with Soviet Russia.

reverence: his face was not quite shown, though his voice was heard — much the way Christ used to be portrayed in biblical epics.

In his book, Davies had been a fierce advocate for the Soviets. He admitted that their methods were a little rough at times, but he excused this, as he explained, because of the daunting problems they faced and because Communism (un-like Nazism) was ultimately compatible with Christian ideals. He felt that the show trials were justified, and he considered them successful in their worthy purpose of rooting out traitors. One of his best friends in Moscow was Walter Duranty of the *New York Times*, who had reported that there was no famine in Ukraine during the early 1930s and won a Pulitzer



To help persuade skeptical Americans of the basic righteousness of the Soviet regime, this scene from "Mission to Moscow" sympathetically portrays the Moscow purge trials of the 1930s. In reality these trials were elaborate charades, based on fabricated evidence and confessions extracted by torture, which Stalin staged to destroy his rivals and solidify his grip on power.

Prize for journalism.

The movie matches the book in glorifying Soviet achievements. Set just before the war, when Davies served in Moscow, it shows him traveling to Soviet farms and factories, where happy workers of both sexes are setting new production records. Freud asked a famous question: "What do women want?" "Mission to Moscow" has the answer: they want to make tractors! The only problem the Soviet system faces in the film is a mysterious sabotage campaign.

Back in Moscow, Davies' beaming hosts introduce him to all the Soviet dignitaries, including chief prosecutor Andrei Vishinsky, in real life director of the Gulag system. "We've heard of your famous legal work!" Davies assures him. Vishinsky accepts the compliment with courtly Old World grace.

There are, happily, few Communists in the movie; the term of choice is "the Russians." The word "Communism" is hardly heard, except in the mouths of the Fascist characters. It's as if using the official name of the system were a sort of smear. Imagine calling Stalin a Communist! (Another "witch-hunt," presumably.) The Nazi officials Davies encounters in the story are always smiling thinly and saying things like, "Dese Ameicans ah so naive." And how.

When his subordinates in the US Embassy tell

Davies that they suspect the Soviets have bugged the place, Davies tells them not to tear the place apart to check it out. First, he doesn't believe it; furthermore, he has nothing to say that he wouldn't say to his Russian hosts' faces; and besides, if the Russians overhear what is really said about them, it may allay their understandable anxieties about foreigners.

And far from dodging the embarrassing topic of the show trials, the movie shows Davies attending them personally, satisfied that the conspirators are sincere in their confessions to having joined Trotsky and the Fascists in the sabotage campaign. Not content with this, the film actually justifies the Hitler-Stalin pact. Davies hears the explanation from Stalin himself, who makes a dramatic appearance late in the film.

Davies opens the conversation by gushing: "I believe that history will record you as a great builder for the benefit of mankind." Stalin, played as a gentle, wistful pipe-smoking sage with a soft chuckle, modestly demurs. He says that the inspiration was Lenin's, and that "the people themselves" have carried out the great plan. But he warns, in a fatherly way, that "reactionaries" in France and England are trying to set Germany and Russia at war with each other; and little as he likes the Fascists, he will not allow the Russian people to be set up. He implies that he may have no choice, if the West won't oppose Fascism, but to cut a deal with Germany.

As I watched, I reflected that *this* was why my father fought in World War II. The movie was supposed to convince Americans that their sons were being sent to die in a worthy cause. Unspeakable.

The reviewers who counted, Roosevelt and Stalin, were both well pleased with the film and gave private screenings to entertain guests. Others panned it as shallow propaganda.

Conventional raves and pans are beside the point in this case. To give "Mission to Moscow" its real due, and to put it into proper historical perspective, I would say that it single-handedly vindicates the McCarthy era.

Please don't suspect that I'm exaggerating. We hear a lot about the evils of "Holocaust denial." But those who question the conventional version of Nazi history are only retrospective and speculative. They don't influence events.

That can't be said for those who assisted and glorified the Soviet Union under Stalin *while it was still active* and thereby facilitated its enormous crimes. I don't mean Warner Brothers. I mean Joseph Davies. I mean Walter Duranty. And I especially mean the man who inspired this movie, Franklin Roosevelt. Stalin's victims were in part his victims too.

The cynical and mendacious Roosevelt had a strange soft spot for Stalin and Communism. He extended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union as soon as he became president, when it was most in need of foreign support and legitimation — even as it was deliberately starving millions. When war came, he didn't regard the alliance with Moscow as a desperate pragmatic move with an unsavory regime with whom he happened to share a common enemy; he envisioned a post-war world in which the "United Nations" would supersede the United States, and in which he and Stalin would lead mankind into an era of global peace and justice.

"Mission to Moscow" captures some of this insane vision. Without meaning to, it shows that the problem of subversion in the Roosevelt Administration went a little higher than Alger Hiss, whom it is hard to blame very much for actions that were only minor replicas of his boss's policies. By 1948 Roosevelt's memory was still so popular that the "witch-hunters" didn't dare point the accusing finger at their proper target; so they settled for investigating the Communist small fry who had flourished under FDR.

The term "McCarthyism" was part of liberalism's strange lexicon of improprieties, the purpose of which was to quash plain speech on touchy subjects by creating an irrational etiquette of discourse. "Mission to Moscow" makes it clear as clear can be that, yes, Roosevelt and his cronies sympathized with Communism, aided it, abetted it, and betrayed America's interests to it. Willing dupes, fellow travelers, pinkoes, Commie-lovers — such words are fair enough for most of them, setting aside the outright Soviet agents. (After all, we aren't expected to split hairs when talking about "fascists," "racists," and "reactionaries.")

Roosevelt himself was no Communist. But he recognized the Soviet Union as the cousin of the New Deal in its general thrust: a huge, arbitrary state, centralized and imperial, unimpeded by such obsolete scruples as personal freedoms and the rule of law. He wanted the American public to be brought to see it as he did.

Jack Warner later came to see "Mission to Moscow" as the worst mistake of his career. Warner Brothers can be pardoned for pitching it down the Memory Hole. But it deserves to be remembered for

presenting the official liberal party line as of 1943, precisely because it says things no liberal would dare to say in 1995.

The Hiss Case

Alger Hiss is dead. Finally. He checked out at 92, denying to the last that he had served as a Soviet agent within the Roosevelt Administration. He outlived his accuser, Whittaker Chambers, by 35 years.

I never met either man, though I once saw Hiss, a lonely-looking old man, in a little restaurant in Greenwich Village. I'd read Chambers' famous book, *Witness*, a combined autobiography and account of the Hiss case, and found it persuasive enough. But I was never absolutely convinced of Hiss' guilt until I heard Hiss himself speak about the case in a recorded address at a New Jersey university. He was so evasive about the essential questions, so facile in playing to his liberal audience, so eager to blame McCarthyite hysteria and Richard Nixon (this just after Nixon's own disgrace) for his fate, that his performance reeked with dishonesty. Not a word about the evil of Communism itself. It wasn't the speech an innocent man would have given.

Documentary evidence that emerged later confirmed Chambers' charges. But I was even more impressed by Hiss' defenders. They didn't really seem to think he was innocent, they seemed to suggest, under all their arguments, that there was nothing really wrong with what he'd done. It was the people who had seen no evil in the Soviet Union, even apologists for Stalin, who insisted most vociferously that Hiss had never been a Soviet agent.

Hiss also had, and has, another sort of partisan. Not all of them insist that he was innocent, many merely continue to speak as if the evidence against him weren't decisive, as if some room for doubt remains. These are generally liberals who fear that Hiss' guilt might implicate the entire Roosevelt Administration in which he rose to a position so near to the boss.

After all, Stalin's best friend in that administration was not Hiss but Roosevelt himself. Hiss was no anomaly. The New Deal was run by other Soviet sympathizers, including Harry Hopkins and Harry Dexter White. Their World War II alliance with the Soviet Union was not merely one of necessity or convenience: they brought real enthusiasm to it. Even as millions were being murdered by forced starvation and incarceration in the Gulag camps, Roosevelt extended diplomatic recognition, legitimacy, and covert aid to the USSR, apart from generous wartime assistance. During the war, official US



Joseph Sobran

propaganda portrayed Stalin as a benign and even heroic figure. Hiss did nothing that his superiors hadn't done on a much larger and more fateful scale.

The war resulted in a huge extension of the Soviet empire that engulfed ten Christian countries and issued in the cruelest persecutions of Christians in history. Liberal opinion still treats this outcome as a footnote at best. Stalin's Western partisans still suffer less obloquy than Hitler's, less even than those — Neville Chamberlain, Charles Lindbergh, the "isolationists" — who wanted to avoid war with Hitler. Roosevelt himself remains one of our most venerated presidents.

Not only has Stalin enjoyed, overall, a better press than Hitler (starting with the *New York Times*), Communists have actually achieved victim status in America, summed up in the devil-term "McCarthyism." Ex-Communists still write lugubrious memoirs of their sufferings during the Cold War and, more to the point, big publishers still publish them.

As I write, this morning's *Times* has a review, mildly unfavorable, of Walter Bernstein's *Inside Out: A Memoir of the Blacklist* (Knopf). No such luck for ex-Nazis, who needn't bother sending their manuscripts to Knopf. Bernstein, a Hollywood screenwriter, finally quit the Communist Party in 1956 after the Soviets crushed the Hungarian upris-

ing. "I knew little about the Gulag," he is quoted as saying, "and wanted to know less, fearful of its meaning, distrusting the sources of this terrible information." And he still thinks he got a raw deal because for a decade he couldn't get a job in the movies.

One of the few things that disturbed Bernstein about the Communist motherland was the growing evidence of Soviet anti-Semitism. Never mind the torment of Christians. Such is the disparity of indignation Hitler and Stalin inspire among the intellectuals, even the neoconservative intellectuals. Even after his ruin, Alger Hiss retained some of the privileged moral ambiguity of Communism.

Correction:

There is an error in the article "Auschwitz: Facts and Legend" in the July-August 1997 *Journal*. Near the top of the left column on page 15, the second paragraph of the quotation should actually be part of the main text. This paragraph, which begins with the words "Soviet propaganda was in disarray ..." should not be indented.



Jailed in 'Democratic' Germany: The Ordeal of an American Writer New!

A courageous German-American civil rights activist tells the full, inside story of his arrest in Germany in August

1995, and five months' imprisonment, for remarks he made in letters and periodicals written in and sent from the United States. German authorities jailed the outspoken 68-year-old publicist because his references to the "Holocaust tale" and the "Jew-infested" German political system were judged to be insulting to Jews, and thus a violation of the country's selectively enforced "popular incitement" law. Although he is a naturalized American citizen, the US State Department refused to protest his arrest.

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Why President Truman Overrode State Department Warning on Palestine-Israel

DONALD NEFF

On September 22, 1947, Loy Henderson strongly warned Secretary of State George C. Marshall that partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states was not workable and would lead to untold troubles in the future. Henderson was director of the US State Department's Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, and his memorandum, coming less than a month after a United Nations special committee had recommended partition, stands as one of the most perceptive analyses of the perils that partition would bring.

Henderson informed Marshall that his views were shared by "nearly every member of the Foreign Service or of the department who has worked to any appreciable extent on Near Eastern problems." Among the points Henderson made:¹

- "The UNSCOP [UN Special Committee on Palestine] Majority Plan is not only unworkable; if adopted, it would guarantee that the Palestine problem would be permanent and still more complicated in the future."
- "The proposals contained in the UNSCOP plan are not only not based on any principles of an international character, the maintenance of which would be in the interests of the United States, but they are in definite contravention to various principles laid down in the [United Nations] Charter as well as to principles on which American concepts of Government are based."
- "These proposals, for instance, ignore such principles as self-determination and majority rule. They recognize the principle of a theocratic racial state and even go so far in several instances as to discriminate on grounds of religion and race against persons outside of Palestine. We have hitherto always held that in our

foreign relations American citizens, regardless of race or religion, are entitled to uniform treatment. The stress on whether persons are Jews or non-Jews is certain to strengthen feelings among both Jews and Gentiles in the United States and elsewhere that Jewish citizens are not the same as other citizens."

- "We are under no obligations to the Jews to set up a Jewish state. The Balfour Declaration and the Mandate provided not for a Jewish state, but for a Jewish national home.² Neither the United States nor the British Government has ever interpreted the term 'Jewish national home' to be a Jewish national state."

Political Pressures

Although the State Department reflected Henderson's anti-partition views, Harry Truman's White House was supporting partition because of strong political pressures. President Truman was so unpopular at the time that there was speculation he might not be able to win the Democratic Party's nomination, much less the presidential race.³ As the vote in the General Assembly on partition approached, Henderson made another effort to change Truman's mind. On November 24, he wrote that ⁴

I feel it again to be my duty to point out that it seems to me and all the members of my Office acquainted with the Middle East that the policy which we are following in New York at the present time is contrary to the interests of the United States and will eventually involve us in international difficulties of so grave a character that the reaction throughout the world, as well as in this country, will be very strong.

He continued:

I wonder if the President realizes that the plan which we are supporting for Palestine leaves no force other than local law enforcement organizations for preserving order in Palestine. It is quite clear that there will be wide-scale violence in that country, on both the Jewish and

Donald Neff is author of *Fallen Pillars: U.S. Policy Toward Palestine and Israel since 1945*, as well as of the 1988 *Warriors* trilogy. This essay is reprinted from the September-October 1994 issue of *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (P.O. Box 53062, Washington, DC 20009).



In his decision to support the new state of Israel, President Harry Truman put Jewish-Zionist interests ahead of American interests. Here Truman welcomes Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann to the White House, May 1948. Weizmann served as Israel's first president.

Arab sides, with which the local authorities will not be able to cope.... It seems to me we ought to think twice before we support any plan which would result in American troops going to Palestine.

Under Secretary of State Robert A. Lovett was so impressed with the memo that he personally read it to President Truman. But Truman, worried about his election campaign in the coming year and urged by advisers such as Clark Clifford to endorse partition as a way to gain Jewish support, ignored Henderson's warnings.⁵ Five days later the United States voted for partition in the historic session of the UN General Assembly.

Major Responsibilities

As the months passed and Palestine descended into the chaos and violence predicted by Henderson and the State Department, Truman could no longer escape the fact that partition had led to massive bloodshed. George Kennan, the director of policy planning at the State Department, warned on February 24, 1948, that violence in Palestine could only be stopped by the introduction of foreign troops. He urged that the US not be drawn into the quagmire:⁶

The pressures to which this Government is now subjected are ones which impel us toward a position where we would shoulder major responsibility for the maintenance, and even the expansion, of a Jewish state in Palestine If we do not effect a fairly radical reversal of the trend of our policy to date, we will end up

either in the position of being ourselves militarily responsible for the protection of the Jewish population in Palestine against the declared hostility of the Arab world, or of sharing that responsibility with the Russians and thus assisting at their installation as one of the military powers of the area.

Similar views were expressed by the CIA and the Defense Department.

Despite such grave concerns, Clifford continued to urge Truman to maintain support of partition. In a memo on March 6, Clifford argued that if the US deserted it now it would make "... the United States appear in the ridiculous role of trembling before threats of a few nomadic desert tribes.... the Arabs need us more than we need them. They must have oil royalties or go bankrupt."⁷

Implicit was the underlying message that Jews were more important to Truman's election than Arabs. As Truman himself once said: "I'm sorry, gentlemen, but I have to answer to hundreds of thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism. I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs among my constituents."⁸

By now, Arabs and Jews were slaughtering each other on a daily basis. Jewish forces were gathering strength and were on the verge of major attacks outside the limits defined by the UN for the Jewish state. Tens of thousands of Palestinians had already been turned into refugees, presaging the tragedy that soon would result in more than half of the total Palestinian community losing their homes.

The horrors unfolding in Palestine could not be ignored. On March 19, Truman renounced partition. The US announced in the UN Security Council that



Secretary of State George C. Marshall emphatically opposed President Truman's decision to give official US recognition to Israel, which he believed was motivated by partisan eagerness for Jewish backing in the November 1948 presidential election.

America believed partition was unworkable and that a UN trusteeship should be established to replace the British when they ended their withdrawal from Palestine on May 14.⁹

Reaction in the press and the Jewish community was deafening. Headlines screamed: "Ineptitude," "Weakness," "Vacillating," "Loss of American Prestige."¹⁰ From Jerusalem, the American consul general reported: "Jewish reaction ... one of consternation, disillusion, despair and determination. Most feel United States has betrayed Jews in interests Middle Eastern oil and for fear Russian designs."¹¹ Truman tried to shift the blame to the State Department, claiming it had acted without his approval. However, it is clear that he had personally given approval for the change in strategy.¹²

In the end, Truman regained Jewish support two months later when he overrode stiff opposition by the State Department and made the United States the first nation to recognize Israel as an independent nation on May 14. Truman's decision had so disgusted Secretary of State Marshall that he told Truman to his face that he believed the president was acting on Clifford's political calculations to win Jewish support, adding: "I said bluntly that if the President were to follow Mr. Clifford's advice and if in the elections I were to vote, I would vote against the President."¹³

On November 2, Truman defeated Thomas E. Dewey to win election to a full term as president.

Notes

1. US Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1947* (vol. 5), The Near East and Africa (Washington, DC: US Govt. Printing Office, 1971), "The Director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs (Henderson) to the Secretary of State," September 22, 1947. Text is also in Evan M. Wilson, *Decision on Palestine: How the U.S. Came to Recognize Israel* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1979), pp. 117-21.
2. The Balfour Declaration was issued November 2, 1917, saying Britain favored establishment of a "national home" for Jews in Palestine. Its text: "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

Text of the early and the final drafts of the declaration are in Thomas Mallison and Sally V., *The Palestine Problem in International Law and World Order* (London: Longman, 1986), pp. 427-9. Text of the Mandate is in Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin (eds.), *The Israel-Arab Reader* (New York: Penguin, 1987

[revised and updated]), pp. 34-42; a partial text appears in Fred J. Khouri, *The Arab-Israeli Dilemma* (Syracuse University Press, third edition, 1985), pp. 527-28.

3. Steven L. Rearden, *History of the Office of the Secretary of Defense: The Formative Years, 1947-1950* (Washington, DC: Historical Office, Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1984), p. 181.
4. US Dept. of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1947* (vol. 5 [1971]), "Memorandum by the Director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs (Henderson) to the Under Secretary of State (Lovett)," November 24, 1947, pp. 1281-82.
5. Evan Wilson, *Decision on Palestine* (1979), p. 124.
6. US Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948* (vol. 5), The Near East, South Asia, and Africa (Washington, DC: US Govt. Printing Office, 1975), "Report by the Policy Planning Staff," Feb. 24, 1948, pp. 656-57.
7. US Dept. of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948* (vol. 5 [1975]), "Memorandum by the President's Special Counsel (Clifford)," March 6, 1948, pp. 687-96.
8. Robert J. Donovan, *Conflict and Crisis: The Presidency of Harry S. Truman, 1945-1948* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1977), p. 322.
9. Thomas J. Hamilton, *New York Times*, March 20, 1948; the text of the US statement is in the same edition, as well as in US Dept. of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948* (vol. 5 [1975]), "Statement Made by the United States Representative at the United Nations (Austin) Before the Security Council on March 19, 1948," pp. 742-4.
10. Peter Grose, *Israel in the Mind of America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), pp. 275-76.
11. US Dept. of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948* (vol. 5 [1975]), "The Consul General at Jerusalem (Macatee) to the Secretary of State," March 22, 1948, p. 753.
12. Donald Neff, "Palestine, Truman and America's Strategic Balance," *American-Arab Affairs*, Summer 1988.
13. US Dept. of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948* (vol. 5 [1975]), "Memorandum of Conversation, Secretary of State," May 12, 1948, pp. 975-6.

A Preference for Equality

"The human heart also nourishes a debased taste for equality, which leads the weak to want to drag the strong down to their level, and which induces men to prefer equality in servitude to inequality in freedom."

— Alexis de Tocqueville,
Democracy in America (1835-1840)

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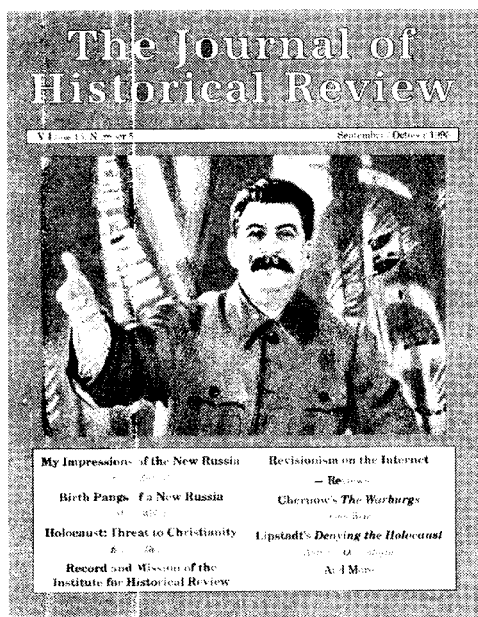
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The Notin Affair: Jewish Organizations Make the Law

ROBERT FAURISSON

Since 1990, Bernard Notin, assistant professor of economics at the University of Lyon III, has been unable to practice his profession — in spite of French law — because of a decision by the Jewish institutions and organizations of Lyon represented by Dr. Marc Aron,¹ as well as the Union of Jewish Students of France (*Union des Etudiants Juifs de France*: UEJF).

No one protests this anomaly: neither Bernard Notin's colleagues, the president of his university, the national Minister of Education, the human rights organization *Ligue des droits de l'homme*, nor the major media. They remain silent, either because they approve this excessive display of power, or because they know these organizations are capable of unleashing at will a ruinous witch-hunt against heretics.

On June 7, 1994, the national daily newspaper *Le Monde* felt it necessary to announce that Notin was being hired to teach at the Mohammed I University in Oujda, Morocco, at the request of the Dean of the Faculty of Economics. The UEJF responded by bringing such pressure to bear internationally that within 48 hours the Moroccan university made it known it was not planning to hire Notin.

From the outset, *Le Monde* has been implacable toward Notin. Notably, it served as a mouthpiece for his persecutors with a January 28-29, 1990, item by Edwy Plenel entitled "*Un article jugé raciste et révisionniste suscite des protestations*" ("An article judged racist and revisionist incites protests").

Notin's thought crime was to have authored an iconoclastic study on the role of the French media. It appeared in a specialized journal with a restricted circulation that is published with the approval of the prestigious *Centre national de la recherche scientifique* (CNRS), the National Center for Scientific Research. (*Economies et sociétés*, No. 8/ 1989 [Dec. 1989], University Press of Grenoble, pp. 117-133).

In passing, the author brought up the media's treatment of the subject of homicidal gas chambers, letting it be known that he is skeptical of the existence of these chemical slaughterhouses, and citing as his reference the 1980 revisionist book by Serge Thion, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* ("Historical truth or political truth?").²

Thus began the campaign against this 39-year-

old scholar (and sole breadwinner for a family with five small children) — a campaign that eventually would surpass in vehemence and duration anything seen thus far along these lines. Because this story has already been covered in the French journal *Revue d'histoire révisionniste*, I shall not deal further with it here.³

On July 11, 1990, a Paris court sentenced Notin, on the basis of Article 1382 (on damages) to pay 25,000 francs (about \$5,000) in damages to the "Movement Against Racism and For Friendship Among Peoples" (*Mouvement contre le racisme et pour l'amitié entre les peuples*: MRAP). The judgment was upheld by a decision on May 15, 1991. On appeal, the sentence was raised to 29,000 francs.

On the administrative level, the National Council for Higher Education and Research (*Conseil national de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche*: CNESER) also decided to impose penalties, although this matter is currently pending before the Council of State.

Bernard Notin tried to resume his work as a assistant professor, but Jewish organizations acted to prevent it. Each year, without fail, he writes to the president of his university formally to request a teaching assignment, along with a timetable. He receives no answer to his letters.

On February 3, 1993, he was persuaded to sign a news release that amounted to a solemn public recantation. In the text, after protesting against what had been done to him ("One intends anew, illegally, and through coercion, to forbid me to teach and to exercise the profession for which the taxpayers are paying me"), he declared that he was not questioning the genocide of the Jews nor the Nazi gas chambers. He added that his purpose had never



Bernard Notin

been to "rewrite history improperly," and concluded notably: "If I have caused, involuntarily, the least suffering to anyone, I ask their forgiveness."

All for nothing: the ban continues to this day.

Bernard Notin's final lecture was on May 2, 1990. For more than six years, the predicament of this scholar, who is now 45 years old, has constituted an anomaly in both law and reason.

The Jewish organizations know quite well that no law authorizes them to impose such penalties on anyone. In showing their readiness to pressure an employer — even a government institution — to prevent an employee from practicing his profession, these organizations pose a threat to the livelihood of everyone who is not self-employed or independently wealthy. As for the nation's education administrators, they know that every civil servant has the right, in the exercise of his duties, to government protection.

Jewish institutions and organizations, mouthpieces for the Jewish community, enjoy special privileges in France. The Notin affair demonstrates that they are in a position to dictate their own laws to the state. I do not know of any other institution, any other organization, or any other community in France capable of conducting a campaign of this kind, of persecuting a man with this ferocity, of pursuing him even in exile, and all this, if not with general approval, at least without a word of protest.⁴

In France people say that "the Jews are like everyone else." In view of the Notin affair, I personally have difficulty believing it.

— June 18, 1996

Notes

1. More than anyone else, Marc Aron bears responsibility for the hardships endured by Bernard Notin for more than six years, as well as for my own travails over the past 17 years. [Editor's note: The ban against Notin is still in force in August 1997.] During the late 1970s, Dr. Aron headed the joint committee of the Jewish institutions and organizations of Lyon. An eminent member of the exclusively Jewish lodge of B'nai B'rith, he also headed the European section of the World Jewish Congress. For his role during the early 1990s, see: Emmanuel Ratier, *Mystères et secrets du B'nai B'rith, la plus importante organisation juive internationale* (Facta, 1993), pp. 284-287.
2. See: S. Thion, "A French Scholar Responds to a Widely Acclaimed Anti-Revisionist Work About Auschwitz," July-August 1994 *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 28-39.
3. See, in particular, *Revue d'histoire révisionniste*, No. 1, pp. 143-146; No. 2, pp. 155-162; No. 3, p. 206.
4. See: "Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years, and More, of Terrorism in France," *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1996, pp. 3-13.

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Hate Crimes, Zionist Terrorism, and Jews in Hitler's Army

DOUG COLLINS

Book Looks at Hate Crimes and Hoaxes

A couple of months ago, anti-Semitic graffiti were scrawled on a synagogue construction site in West Vancouver [British Columbia]. Right away, it became front-page news. It was big on the TV screens, too.

Who did it? No one knows. But that kind of coverage is automatic. The media invariably accept such incidents as gospel. ("West Van Jews face Nazi threat" was the *News*' headline.) But I will stick my neck out (Hello, there, Press Council!) and say that the chances of the incident having been a hoax are far greater than its having been genuine.

The "message" included the term "Juden raus!" which means "Jews out!" Not many Canadians would know that. Germans would, but today's Germans would be the very last to risk doing such a dumb thing.

One has to ask the classic question: who gains? Not the alleged anti-Semites, because such idiocies are counterproductive. A hoaxer on the Jewish side would, though, because it keeps the right pot boiling.

In a previous incident four years ago a "cross-burning" took place in the front yard of a house in which Iranians were living. More panic stations. The KKK are upon us! A couple of years later it turned out that the deed had been "artificial," and that left-wing Iranians had used it to show evidence

Doug Collins, an award-winning journalist, has worked for several Canadian daily newspapers, and is the author of several books. He served with the British army during the Second World War, and then with the British control commission in postwar occupied Germany. For more about Collins, see the Nov.-Dec. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 43-46, and, "Canadian Jewish Congress Threatens Journalist for Holocaust Heresy," in the Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*, pp. 36-38.

The three essays published here are reprinted with permission from his columns in the *North Shore News* (North Vancouver, British Columbia) of November 15, 1995, March 10, 1996, and February 2, 1997.

of "racism" on the North Shore [Vancouver]. That, at any rate, was what the editor of the Iranian newspaper told the *Vancouver Sun*.

A fascinating book has now been published on the subject of such tricks. It's called *Crying Wolf: Hate Crime Hoaxes in America*, by Laird Wilcox. The author documents hundreds of hoaxes. And he isn't some wild-eyed right-winger. On the contrary, he has written about Nazis, the KKK and others on the extreme right.

Here are a couple of examples from his book.

In West Hartford, Connecticut, the Jewish community was terrorized by fires set at two synagogues, and by another set at the home of a rabbi. The home of a State Representative, a Jewess, was also set on fire. Nationwide media attention followed. A \$50,000 reward was posted for information leading to a conviction, and dozens of policemen were put on the case.

But the fires had been set by 17-year-old Barry Dov Schuss, himself Jewish. He was charged with second-degree arson, and told the court that a "possible reason" for his actions was to show the vulnerability of the police to anti-Semitic violence. He got off with probation, but if he had been a skinhead he would have been put away for years.

White gentiles are sometimes involved in these capers but usually it is minorities. In New York State, a black teenager by the name of Tawana Brawley became a *cause celebre*. She claimed to have been kidnapped and raped by white men, smeared with dog feces, stuffed into a plastic garbage bag, and marked with racial slurs. The incident "fuelled support for hate crime legislation around the nation."

There were flaws in her tale from the start. But as Wilcox puts it, "an incredible media feeding frenzy took place." A grand jury concluded the woman had fabricated the story.

William Kunstler, the radical lawyer offered a thought on the matter. He said it made no difference whether the attack really happened. "A lot of black women are treated the way she says she was treated."

Another famous hoax was perpetrated by Laurie



Doug Collins

A. Recht in Yonkers, New York. Recht was supposed to have received death threats, and claimed she was the target of anti-Semitic graffiti in her apartment block. As a result of another media feeding frenzy she was given an honorary doctorate, was offered a scholarship, and became "a very important lady."

It was proved, though, that she had received no threatening calls. And a hidden police camera showed she was painting graffiti on the wall herself. She too got probation.

These incidents work well for the perpetrators. And nothing will change as long as minorities are seen as permanent victims. Which, of course, is all part of political correctness.

The book costs \$19.95 [available through the IHR].

An Inequitable Silence

Strange that the House of Commons should sanction a minute's silence for those killed in Israel by the bombs of Islamic fanatics. I too deplore those deaths. But the double standard is flying again.

The Israelis are themselves no strangers to the practice of terrorism, beginning with the British Mandate in Palestine. And men who have headed the Jewish state have been its most expert practitioners.

In 1946 the King David Hotel was blown up and 95 people were killed. Most of the victims were British and Arab, but a dozen Jews who happened to be in the wrong place also died.

The organizer of that atrocity was Menachem Begin of the terrorist Irgun gang. He later became prime minister.

Two years later he ordered the attack on Deir Yassin, a small village near Jerusalem in which 254 defenseless old men, women and children were killed and thrown into a well, a crime that compares with the Nazi murder of Czechs at Lidice — except that the children of Lidice were spared.

The purpose was to terrify Arabs into leaving their land. Jewish author Alfred Lilienthal has described how loudspeaker vans cruised Jerusalem informing Arabs that unless they left, "the fate of Deir Yassin will be your fate."

In his book *The Zionist Connection* Lilienthal states [pp. 52, 156]: "A concentration of bomb outrages in which many were killed or wounded and all communications in Palestine came to a halt was carried out throughout the mandate territory by 3,000 Jews under the combined operations of the Irgun, the Stern Gang and the Haganah."

Count Bernadotte, nephew of the King of Sweden, was assassinated in 1948. He was a UN mediator of whose views Stem & Co. did not approve. Yitzhak Shamir, who also became a prime minister, planned the murder of Lord Moyne in 1944, when the British were fighting Hitler.

Another Yitzhak — Rabin — sanctified last year by the West after his murder by a Jew, was a general in the Israeli Defense Force when 700,000 Arabs were turfed out of their homeland. And he was probably responsible for the attack on the unarmed *USS Liberty* in 1967 that killed 34 American sailors and wounded 171. Sorry about that, said the Israelis. The matter was quickly hushed up. And US aid to Israel went on as if nothing had happened.

In the end Rabin recognized that brute force was not going to defeat the Palestinians' demands for a homeland. Hence the peace process. But that was after years of brute force had been used against the Intifada — the revolt by Arab kids who were armed only with stones.

Israeli response to the Islamic terrorists is natural, but worthy of note: the security forces have been given a free hand to destroy them. Can you imagine what the reaction would be if the British gave the SAS ["special forces" military unit] a free hand to destroy the IRA? Ottawa would be the first to cry foul.

Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy promised before the minute's silence that terrorists would find no place here. Even as he was speaking, a former IRA man convicted of trying to assassinate a Belfast policeman was working as a stonemason on the parliamentary Peace Tower, no less. The RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] had given him clearance, and he is fighting deportation on "humanitarian" grounds.

Even more grotesque was that in the 1970s Begin made a fund-raising tour here [in Canada]. And he toured the US as if he owned it.

The Palestinian case is not often told. But after Rabin's death the *Sydney Morning Herald* ran an article in which a Palestinian official stated: "Jewish settlers and extremists are responsible for the killing of hundreds of Palestinian civilians and have

committed a number of massacres [such as] the Al-Aqsa mosque massacre in 1990, and the Hebron mosque massacre in 1994 ... Despite all this, the Israeli government did not take their crimes and the danger they posed seriously, nor disarm them." He could also have mentioned the wholesale bombing of refugee camps suspected of hiding terrorists.

Yes, terrorism is wrong. But terror breeds terror. And if our politicians were even handed, their minute of silence would last for a long time.

Insights From Abroad

Traveling has its uses. You get all kinds of interesting information that is ignored at home. When I was in England the papers were filled with news about Jews who served in Hitler's forces as high ranking officers.

The story broke in *The [London Daily] Telegraph* [Dec. 2, 1996], which had a headline across two pages about "Jews who wore Nazi uniforms." There were many of them. They included two field marshals, one of whom was Erhard Milch, who "master-minded German aircraft production and transformed the Luftwaffe." His father was Jewish.

At least 77 senior officers were Jewish, or "of mixed Jewish race or married to Jews." They included eight lieutenant generals, five major generals, and 23 colonels. Seventeen "Jews in Nazi uniform" were awarded the Knights Cross, Germany's highest military honor. In all probability there were many more. The research is continuing.

Some of the stories are bizarre. One Jew got to German-occupied France in 1940 and later joined the Waffen SS under a new name. He is still alive. Another visited the Sachsenhausen concentration camp to visit his father, "wearing the Iron Cross he had earned in battle." Another lost his mother in Auschwitz. He and others are now asking whether they were "victims or perpetrators." A Jewish filmmaker and holder of the Iron Cross First Class worked in the German propaganda office in Paris in 1941.

The one who discovered all this was Bryan Rigg, a Texan studying at Cambridge University. Some of his remote forebears were German Jews, and he became interested in their story. So he did a year-long investigation and stumbled across this material, accumulating 30,000 supporting documents in the process.

The British press got excited over it because everyone had assumed that Jews were totally unacceptable in Hitler's Germany; also that no Jew could ever have fought for Hitler. A leading historian at Cambridge has been quoted as saying, "It makes the reality of the Nazi state more complicated." He stated, too, that Rigg's research would "inform both

the argument about Hitler's role in shaping the holocaust and the debate about anti-Semitism among ordinary Germans."

Precisely. It worries holocaust enthusiasts that Rigg's research may be used by "deniers." But most "deniers" do not deny that large numbers of Jews met their end in the camps and elsewhere. What they question is what they see as the greatly inflated six million story.

British historian David Irving has gone further. He made himself into an international pariah by offering a financial reward for anyone who can produce documentary proof that Hitler ordered the extermination of the Jews. Whatever the truth, no one has yet collected.

Rigg turned up some fascinating tidbits. Former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt was an officer in the Luftwaffe even though his grandfather was a Jew. Schmidt kept his background secret. And fought for Hitler.

As the *Telegraph* articles explained, the Nazi race laws defined as a full Jew anyone with three Jewish grandparents. Those with two or even one were seen as "mixed race" and were also denied full citizenship. But there were all kinds of contradictions and exceptions. Hermann Göring once stated, for instance, that *he* would decide who was Jewish.

As Rigg showed, Hitler himself signed papers decreeing that many whom he knew had Jewish ancestors were of "Aryan descent." Milch, sentenced to a term of imprisonment at Nuremberg, was one of them. A Jewish Nazi war criminal?

After the conquest of Poland the Americans even asked for, and obtained, the release of a rabbi who was leader of the ultra-orthodox Lubavitcher Jews in Warsaw. It was done on instructions from Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, the head of military intelligence who was executed in 1944 for plotting against Hitler. The rabbi and a group of his followers were sent to the US via Latvia, and the man in charge of the operation was Lt. Col. Bloch, himself a Jew and an Iron Cross holder. Late in the war, though, Heinrich Himmler saw to it that he was discharged from the army.

All of which is very strange. And just as strange is that I have been able to find no mention of it in our media. Not even in *Time* magazine. I wonder why?

"No true philosophy is possible where the fear of consequences inhibits the pursuit of truth."

— John Stuart Mill

Gas Detectors in Auschwitz Crematory II

ARTHUR R. BUTZ

The Holocaust extermination legend claims that the commercial pesticide Zyklon B was used to exterminate Jews in a "gas chamber" within Auschwitz-Birkenau Crematory II, specifically, in *Leichenkeller 1* (morgue cellar 1), whose alleged real purpose was concealed by being so designated. (See Figure 1.) Zyklon B works on the target pests by releasing hydrogen cyanide (HCN) gas by evaporation from the liquid form as retained in the otherwise inert pellets. This product was widely used for delousing operations across Europe during and after the war, including throughout the wartime German concentration camp system.

In his 1989 book *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, Jean-Claude Pressac¹ remarked on a telegram of February 26, 1943, from the Auschwitz construction department to the furnace maker Topf, requesting delivery of ten gas detectors for Crematory II, as had been earlier discussed. The specific gas to be detected was not specified but, by a process of tortured reasoning, Pressac concluded that the detectors were for HCN gas, rather than for "the products of combustion, such as CO or CO₂, in the furnace room", and classified this document as one of his so-called "criminal traces" of extermination. Robert Faurisson wrote, in reply, that Pressac himself had solved this problem, and that there was no reason to believe the detectors were for HCN.²

Pressac did more research and published a new book in 1993, in which he produced a document newly discovered in the recently opened Moscow archives.³ It is a letter dated March 2, 1943, from the Topf company (by Senior Engineer Prüfer and a

Topf colleague) to the Auschwitz construction department, and it shows that HCN was indeed the specific gas to be detected by the detectors. It reads:

We confirm receipt of your telegram specifying "Immediately send ten gas detectors as agreed, price quote to follow."

We hereby inform you that two weeks ago we inquired, of five different companies, concerning the residual HCN detection devices sought by you. We have received negative responses from three companies and two have not yet answered.

If (*Wenn*) we receive information on this matter, we shall immediately contact you, in order to put you in touch with a company that makes these devices.

Faurisson's response was that Zyklon B was used for delousing operations throughout the camp, including, of course, in Crematory II. Naturally HCN gas detectors would have been required in such operations, in which they are standard equipment.⁴

A Problem

In both cases Faurisson gave the simple, obvious replies that I would have given under the circumstances. However I believe this interpretation is wrong, for reasons that may be seen by examining the document. The main obstacle to interpreting this letter in terms of Zyklon B is the roles of Topf and Prüfer.

Zyklon was a product of the DEGESCH company; Zyklon and associated equipment such as gas detectors and gas mask filters were also manufactured by other companies, such as Tesch & Stabenow and Drägerwerke. At Auschwitz, delousing operations with Zyklon were such major and continuous tasks that a special department existed there, the *Referat für Schädlingsbekämpfung* ("Pest Control Office"), which carried them out. On occasion this department communicated directly with the DEGESCH company.⁵

Topf was a furnace maker with crematory ovens as a sideline, and was the principal civilian contractor in the construction of crematories at Auschwitz. Prüfer was the main Topf contact of the Auschwitz

Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering. In addition to numerous technical papers, Dr. Butz is the author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*.

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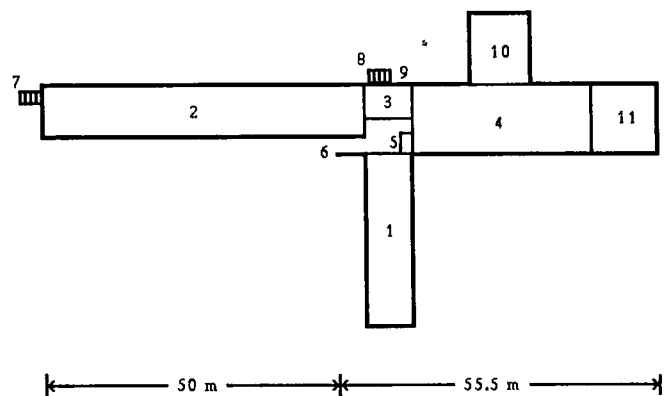
construction department, and of course was not associated with the special SS delousing squads that regularly worked with the Zyklon. Why should Prüfer have been searching, indeed with great difficulty, for devices that were standard equipment for the delousing squads, and were readily available from DEGESCH and other companies, which had developed and supplied Zyklon? The standard DEGESCH detector for HCN required exposing a test paper and observing the color assumed. The Prüfer letter even implies that he does not know whether the desired devices exist, was confronting this specific need for the first time, and does not know very much about it, inferences that are very important in interpreting the letter. I do not believe this letter had anything to do with Zyklon.

There may, however, have been one connection between Topf and Zyklon. Robert Faurisson has brought to my attention an anti-revisionist, Pressac-supporting book published in France in early 1997. A footnote declares:⁶

The study of the history of the Topf and Sons company of Erfurt would be essential to show the progression to mass crime. Topf made, in the Twenties, crematoria but also grain silos. In the after sale services and maintenance for these silos, Topf also involved itself in HCN disinfection and furnished all necessary material. Thus the two branches of activity of the firm converge in a striking manner toward the crematoria — gas chambers of Birkenau. On this particular sort of study, the works of Pressac are of the greatest utility and it is in this way that they should be used.

The author gives no sources but I think the claim of such Topf involvement with HCN, presumably via Zyklon, is quite plausible. For example, under conditions where Topf would have been the only company that a farmer dealt with in constructing his silo, it would have been natural for Topf to serve as retailer of supporting materials and equipment made by DEGESCH and other companies. However such a Topf role had no bearing on conditions at Auschwitz in 1941-1945, where a special department regularly conducted operations with Zyklon. Their personnel would have been responsible for declaring when a treated facility was again safe to use. Is it plausible that Prüfer could have been involved in this when, as his letter shows, he didn't know very much about it?

There remains one possibility. Perhaps some unusual feature of the cremation process, not understood by the Zyklon delousing personnel, raised a novel problem with Zyklon use that Prüfer was asked to solve. I can't imagine such a feature,



Plan of Auschwitz Crematory Building II:

1. *Leichenkeller* 1. Below ground level morgue.
2. *Leichenkeller* 2. Below ground level morgue.
3. *Leichenkeller* 3. Below ground level morgue.
4. Furnace room. Ground level only. 15 cremation muffles.
5. Corpse elevator. Only the small central part of the building, where the furnace room joined *Leichenkeller* 1 and 2, had two levels.
6. Corpse chute.
7. Cellar entrance.
8. Cellar entrance.
9. Ground level entrance.
10. Chimney and waste incinerator.
11. Supervisor's office, worker rest room, toilet, shower, tools, urn storage, fuel (coke) storage.

since using coke for cremation seems basically like any other use. However if such an unusual feature existed, would it not have come up earlier in the six muffle crematory, also supplied by Topf, that existed in the Auschwitz I main camp (or *Stammlager*)? In 1942 this sole crematory was working at capacity, and Zyklon was being used to fight the disastrous typhus epidemics. However the February-March 1943 correspondence marked Prüfer's first confrontation with the problem involved. Some novel feature of Crematory II had to be the problem.

It is also clear that the letter has nothing to do with gas detectors as defenses against chemical warfare. The German chemical warfare services were highly competent and organized, and would not have sent a furnace maker on a quest for such equipment

From one point of view the problem raised has little to do with the "extermination" allegations. If the Zyklon was being used to kill people, rather than lice, then presumably the same specially trained squads would have been employed or at least consulted, and the usual HCN gas detectors would have been used in the last stages of gassing operations. There would have been no problems in acquiring such standard equipment. Those who believe Zyklon was used for homicidal purposes

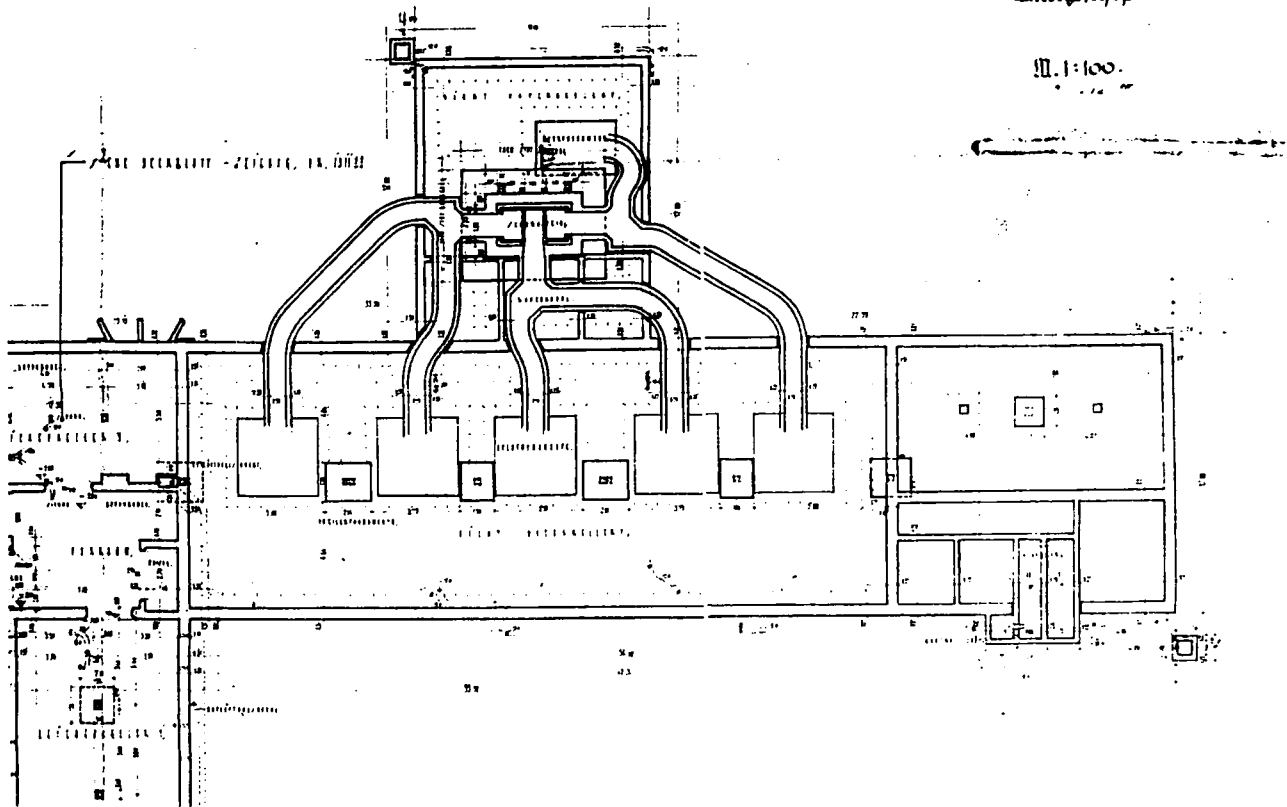


Figure 2. Arrangement and flues and ducts for Auschwitz Crematory Building II, from a January 1942 construction plan. (Source: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation* [1989], pp. 284-287.)

should be as puzzled by this document as I was.

From another point of view these questions are very relevant to the claim of "extermination," as explained below.

An Alternative Interpretation

The Topf letter of March 2, 1943, is strange, and for a while I suspected its authenticity. However I have found an interpretation which may be correct, and the main purpose of this article is to propose it. After I have done that I shall return to the question of the relevance of this problem to the "extermination" allegations.

"HCN" is of course a compound of hydrogen, carbon, and nitrogen, and may be generated whenever materials containing these elements are burned. For example the fuel used for the crematory ovens was coke, and it is well known that HCN gas is a possible by-product in the process of making coke from coal. However there is apparently no danger of HCN release when coke, of whatever grade, is burned as a fuel; otherwise it would not be in such common use. HCN gas could not have been thus generated in the crematory.

A remaining possibility is that HCN release was

possible in the waste incinerator, which shared the chimney with the crematory ovens. Many materials may release HCN when burned. Among these are many fabrics, a highly relevant observation because the waste incinerator was most likely used to incinerate used camp fabrics (such as inmate uniforms, bed linen and mattresses). For example, nylon and wool can release HCN when burned, a fact that has been known since the Thirties.

As shown in Figure 2, the chimney of Crematory II was divided into three ducts. Six furnaces used this chimney, namely the waste incinerator and the five crematory furnaces (each with three muffles). The waste incinerator was on the opposite side of the chimney in relation to the crematory furnaces. These six furnaces used the three ducts on the basis of two per duct; thus the waste incinerator shared one of the three ducts with one of the crematory furnaces (the flues leading from the furnaces to the chimney were underground).⁷ The waste incinerator was also supplied by Topf,⁸ and it could have been Prüfer's responsibility to take into account any HCN danger arising from it. Also, a gas detector differing from that used in the Zyklon delousing operations would seem fitting; perhaps a detector

generating an audible alarm was desired.

While a concern for HCN release in combustion is routine today, it would have been novel in 1943, a fact that could explain the novelty, for Prüfer, of the desire for an HCN detector. Another thing that could account for this novelty is that the waste incinerator design was itself novel. I have no expertise in the field but, intuitively, I would think that a waste incinerator design sharing a chimney with other equipment, at which people are working, is dangerous.

The question of the quantities of HCN released in the burning of materials is complicated and depends on "the chemical nature of the material, temperature, oxygen availability, and burning time." Since HCN is itself combustible, it makes a difference whether the combustion is "static" or "dynamic," an example of the latter being when there is forced air blowing and the HCN is swept away from the hot zone before it can itself be decomposed in any way. However, HCN can be released under either condition. Another complication is that HCN can be released in the smoldering after a fire has been extinguished.⁹

The term "residual" that appears in the letter in question could apply to either released HCN that, ideally, would have been consumed during the incineration process but wasn't, or to HCN released after incineration, during smoldering. The chimney of Crematory II used, as of January 29, 1943, a forced draft system based on suction but on March 25, 1943, Topf ordered this system removed due to overheating of its motors.¹⁰

A Specific Possibility

It remains to suggest a specific potential source for HCN development in the waste incinerator. In wartime Germany many articles had to be ersatz (artificial or synthetic), because of shortages of materials normally imported. Cotton was in very short supply and little was used for fabrics. Wool was available but not in normal quantities. In fact Germany relied heavily on the manufacture of rayon, and during the war army uniforms contained as much as 65 percent rayon. One must assume concentration camp uniforms, and other fabrics used in the camps, had high rayon content. Could the incineration of such rayon have produced HCN gas? It may seem not, because rayon has no nitrogen in its chemical composition. In making these statements, I am using the word "rayon" in the normally accepted sense; rayon is regenerated cellulose made from natural cellulose extracted from materials such as cotton linters or wood pulp. Cotton was scarce in wartime Germany, so almost all rayon was made from wood pulp.¹¹

The burning of rayon can generate HCN gas if

the rayon is impregnated with, but not chemically bound to, compounds of ammonia, which supply the necessary nitrogen. This was established some years ago by T. Morikawa, who conducted experiments that established that ammonia and its compounds, combined with "cellulosic materials," can indeed result in the evolution of HCN when burned. The general conclusion was that such evolution was about the same as for substances having nitrogen in their chemical compositions in comparable amounts.¹² It is of great relevance, for this discussion, that Morikawa's study of this point was motivated by the fact that ammonium compounds are added to many fabrics to make them flame retardant (this is sometimes called "fireproofing," but that cannot be done literally with ordinary fabrics). Thus Morikawa's experiments used, as the source of nitrogen, diammonium phosphate, a common flame retardant for fabrics.

During World War II diammonium phosphate was commonly used in Germany to make fabrics, particularly rayon, flame retardant. Two such products were marketed by I.G. Farben under the trade names Akaustan N and Akaustan N 1139. Another product, Akaustan K, used other ammonium compounds as the flame retardant.¹³ A disadvantage of such flame retardants is that they are water soluble and gradually "leach" out when the fabrics are washed. Thus such soluble flame retardants "are applied with the idea of periodic reprocessing in order to maintain the desired properties [by] simple immersion in aqueous solutions" of the retardant.¹⁴ That is, washing is followed by immersion in a solution of the flame retardant substance, then drying out. Another defense against leaching, employed by the Germans, used sulfamide (strictly speaking sulfuryl amide, $\text{SO}_2(\text{NH}_2)_2$) in conjunction with a standard waterproofing agent, thus making reprocessing unnecessary.¹⁵ Sulfamide is obtained by treating sulfuryl chloride with ammonia, and one gets the impression from Morikawa that one could also expect evolution of HCN in burning of cellulose impregnated with it.

While I do not have a document that says so, I consider it very plausible that many concentration camp fabrics were treated with flame retardants for security reasons, that is, to limit the effects of fires started by inmates. This would have been particularly the case with bed linens and mattress fillings. Thus I am proposing the possibility that fabrics used in the camps, destined to be disposed of by incineration, were known to present a danger of evolution of HCN in such incineration.

The favored German process for rayon manufacture was the viscose, which is also the favored process today. However two German factories used the older and simpler cuprammonium process. That the

cuprammonium process involved a solution of ammonia does not appear relevant to the present problem. What may be relevant is that a price of its simplicity was that the cuprammonium process required celluloses of a high degree of purity. Thus cotton linters were considered the standard cellulose source for cuprammonium rayon but, on account of wartime shortages, the two German cuprammonium factories used wood pulp instead. This resulted in an inferior quality rayon. Much of the cuprammonium rayon was used for army uniforms, but there were other uses, for example military upholstery, mattress fillings, and parachutes. I have no source saying that it was used in concentration camp fabrics but, in view of its inferior quality, this is a very admissible conjecture. One version of the cuprammonium rayon used for mattress fillings was impregnated with urea and formaldehyde, with ammonium nitrate as a catalyst, in order to impart springiness to it.¹⁶ It is known that urea can cause some ammonium based flame retardants to react with cellulose, thus giving a fabric so treated resistance to leaching.¹⁷

Summary

In summary I am saying

- It is certain the Topf letter has nothing to do with Zyklon.
- It is almost certain that the HCN danger referred to arose from the waste incinerator. I would be astonished if it were shown that such was not the case.
- It is probable that the HCN detectors were wanted because of a potential danger of HCN development in the incineration of fabrics, particularly rayons treated with flame retardants. However, I am far from certain on this, and I will not be astonished if other

materials, consumed in the waste incinerator, were shown to have been suspected by the Auschwitz management as potential sources of HCN development.

Observations

Above I promised to return to the question of the relevance of the problem treated here to the "extermination" allegations. The mass of documents shows that Auschwitz was a large concentration camp with a catastrophic death rate, due mainly to typhus carried by lice. In response to such problems, the Germans made great use of the pesticide Zyklon B and constructed large crematories. There are no records showing that Jews were "gassed" or "exterminated." That is clear, and it ought not be necessary to argue that such was not the case. The documentation is immense, and the physical facts concerning the camp are conclusive. (For more detail, see the remarks I delivered at the 1992 IHR Conference on the death rates and the crematory capacities at Auschwitz and other camps.)¹⁸

Another approach uses a normal historical method: to study what the people of the time were doing. Elsewhere¹⁹ I have discussed the trap that the historian Walter Laqueur got himself into by applying this normal historical method to Auschwitz. (For a more general discussion, see Faurisson's tutorial, "Auschwitz: Facts and Legends," in the July-August 1997 *Journal*.)

For practical purposes, the entire "extermination" legend rests on the claim that Auschwitz was an "extermination camp" where about a million Jews were gassed with Zyklon B in otherwise designated rooms within the crematory buildings. Because that is emphatically not what the historical record says, the promoters of the legend are highly selective in choosing documents, which Pressac

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calls "criminal traces" that, it is claimed, prove their thesis. The HCN gas detectors are one of the "criminal traces" on Pressac's pathetically short list.²⁰

In historiography there is an alternative, and more commonplace, description of Pressac's procedure with "criminal traces." It is bad historiography of the simplest sort: tendentious selection of a very small part of the data, resulting in grossly distorted history.

Normally one cannot get away with this. But today a Pressac, waving aside historical reasoning and the mountain of documentary evidence, comes rushing forward waving some document and saying, in effect, "but how about this?" and he is respected instead of being ignored or laughed at.²¹ He is credited by some with finally proving the extermination allegation as it relates to Auschwitz, although for years it was claimed that this had already been proven and that there was nothing to argue about.

Thus to the person who objects that here I have treated petty details incommensurate with the scale of the historical claim involved I reply: you are right, but it isn't my fault! Ordinary historical reasoning observes that nobody acted, during the war, as though "extermination" was going on, and that the Jews were still there at war's end.²² However a lot of influential people won't accept ordinary historical reasoning, and the debate, to the extent that it exists, has revolved around the petty details.

The promoters of the legend may get away with such practices, for a while, in arguing the reality of physical exterminations of Jews during World War II. There are two main reasons for this. Most obvious is the fact of the entrenched status of the legend. What ought to require proof has been allowed to flourish unproved, and the revisionists have in effect been forced to try to argue a negative.

Another reason, less obvious but very simple, is that the revisionists may not be able to immediately offer correct replies to the sallies of the defenders of the legend. This appears to me to have been the case with the Topf letter. I don't believe Faurisson's immediate replies (which I would also have made) were correct. In fact nobody could be relied on to be correct under the circumstances and on the time schedule involved. A comparison: there is much building activity at Northwestern University now. Does anybody believe that, 50 years from now, perhaps after some cataclysm, anybody could reliably interpret individual documents that were records of this construction? Of course not. Nobody could do that, and nobody could infallibly interpret every Auschwitz document from the period 1941-1945. Indeed, the hypothesis I have advanced here may be wrong, even though I have had a few years to consider the solitary document in question.

Some years ago I warned of these dangers.²³ It is

not out of the question that, some day, an authentic Auschwitz document might utterly confound the revisionists — that is, raise some apparently relevant question of detail that they will be unable to answer. In the event of such a development, I can only urge that the context — that is, the massive documentation and historical context supporting the revisionist position — be kept firmly in mind.

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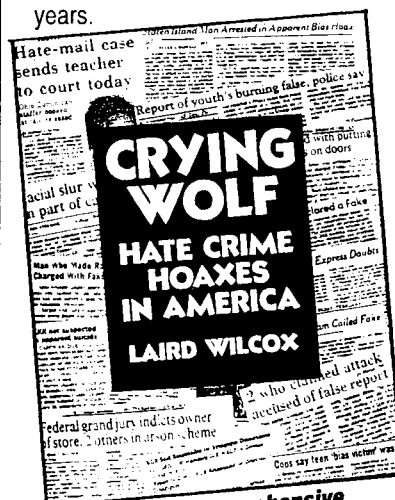
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Author Details Postwar Jewish Crimes

Suppressing the Story of Genocide Against Germans

RICHARD H. CURTISS

*"The Holocaust museum is doing wonderful work. But I'd hate to think that the one thing the Holocaust Museum doesn't talk about is genocide when it's done by Jews." — John Sack, author of *An Eye for an Eye*, Feb. 13, 1997.*

Listening to American magazine writer John Sack speak is like reading the *Thousand and One Nights*. Each improbable adventure seems to lead to another even more astonishing tale. But the *Arabian Nights* is a work of fiction, set in the Baghdad of the Abbasid Caliphate. John Sack's tales are true, and they take place in such varied settings as California, Poland, Germany and Israel over the past half century. And while editions of the *Arabian Nights* are available through any bookstore, John Sack's book, *An Eye for an Eye*, published in 1993, is out of print less than four years after it was issued.

The 66-year-old author, who is Jewish and who presently lives in Idaho, was invited by Michael Berenbaum, until recently director of the research institute of the Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC, to tell an invitational audience his story of how some 60,000 to 80,000 German prisoners died at the hands of a largely Jewish guard force in the aftermath of the European Holocaust in World War II. Just before the talk was to be held, however, it was canceled by the museum's new director, Dr. Walter Reich. When Sack ascertained that he had been deliberately "disinvited" by the new head of the Holocaust Museum, he spent \$300 to rent a room to deliver the same talk February 13, 1997, to journalists at the National Press Club in Washington, DC.

Sack's misadventure with censorship by the publicly funded US Holocaust Museum began in California in April 1976 when he met the daughter of a Jewish Holocaust survivor named Lola Potak. The

daughter told him how in Nazi concentration camps her mother had lost her mother and her sister, and had had a brother hanged by the Nazis in January 1945.

Subsequently Lola Potak, whose weight was down to 65 pounds, escaped when prisoners were being marched from one camp to another to avoid the oncoming Allied armies in the winter of 1944-1945. After the area in which she was hiding was overrun by the Russian army, she volunteered to serve the Polish secret police against her German oppressors. She ended up as the commander of a camp for German prisoners operated at Gliwice [Gleiwitz], Poland. It was one of 1,255 such camps established as Soviet forces swept across Europe, Sack learned. He spent the next two-and-a-half years interviewing Lola and other former guards to whom she introduced him about their experiences at Russian and Polish-operated camps. [See: "Book Detailing Jewish Crimes Against Germans Banned," Jan.-Feb. 1995 *Journal*, p. 28.]

Destructive Hate

The result was an article in *California* magazine entitled "Lola's Revenge and Lola's Redemption." In it Sack wrote about how Lola, who at first could think of nothing but revenge, one day found herself challenging a guard under her command who was beating a German prisoner. "If you despise them, why do you want to be like them?" she asked. From then on she told the guards to treat the German prisoners like human beings. "Maybe people will learn that to hate your neighbors may not destroy them, but it will surely destroy you," Lola said.

Sack's article won an award as the best magazine article of the year. As a result, he signed up Lola to collaborate with him on a book about the camps for German prisoners operated by Jewish survivors of the Holocaust. After he approached a number of publishing firms, the idea was accepted by Henry Holt publishers.

To Sack's chagrin, however, Lola Potak and other former guards she had introduced him to then refused permission to use their stories. When he pointed out that they had a contract, they threatened "to sue me, to kill me, and to call the Israeli mafia," Sack said.

So Sack, who speaks and reads fluent German,

Richard H. Curtiss is executive editor of *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (PO Box 53062, Washington, DC 20009). This report is reprinted from the June-July 1997 issue. When he retired from the US foreign service, Curtiss was chief inspector of the US Information Agency. He is also the author of *A Changing Image: American Perspectives of the Arab-Israeli Dispute* and *Stealth PACs: Lobbying Congress for Control of US Middle East Policy*.

gave up the idea of working with his original collaborators, but not of writing the book. In April 1989 he visited the German Federal Archives in a castle above the Rhine River. There he found five statements by Germans who were incarcerated in Lola's prison. He looked up the five former prisoners, found three other guards who had served under Lola, and visited the prison.

From there his research took him to various countries where he talked to other witnesses and read thousands of documents. His researches confirmed that Lola had been the camp commandant, and that she had stopped the violence against the prisoners.



John Sack

"So Lola was telling the truth, but she wasn't telling the whole truth," Sack told his Press Club audience. He explained that he learned that "among the prisoners in Lola's camp were 20 captured German soldiers. But there also were 1,000 civilians. They were tortured.

One was a 14-year-old boy arrested for wearing a Boy Scout uniform. They poured gasoline on the Boy Scout's hair and set it on fire. He went insane. The Germans who died in the camp were buried in a mass grave at a Catholic cemetery.

"The truth was that the Germans in Lola's prison were worse off than Lola had been at Auschwitz," Sack continued. "For example, the guards at Auschwitz were not allowed to rape the prisoners. In Lola's prison they did."

Sack said the prisons were operated by the Polish Office of State Security. The Germans called it the "Polish Gestapo." Of the security office directors, "almost all were Jews, and three-quarters of the officers were Jews and one-quarter were Catholics," Sack said. Sack then went looking for the camp officers, finding some in Israel, and one in New Jersey.

He confirmed that between 60,000 and 80,000 Germans died in the camps. Of 50 babies in one camp, 48 died. "From Gliwice we moved westward to Breslau and from there to Prague," another former guard told him, describing how Germans were interned behind advancing Allied forces. "More Germans died in the camps than Germany lost in the bombing of Dresden, or than Japan lost at Hiroshima," Sack said. "Although the numbers of Germans who died in the camps were only one percent of those who died in the Holocaust, one German survivor said that, for the victims, it was another

Holocaust."

Sack also heard about Solomon Morel, supposedly Lola Potak's boyfriend and the commander of another internment camp in Poland. Morel, while drunk, assembled a group of German prisoners and threatened to kill them if they did not sing the Nazi "Horst Wessel Song." Then, while forcing them to continue to sing, he began beating the prisoners to death with a wooden chair.

The author prepared the story of Morel for publication as a separate article. "GQ paid \$15,000 and then didn't publish it," Sack said. "Mother Jones didn't call back. The New Yorker refused to look at it." In 1993, however, *The Village Voice* published the story of Solomon Morel and in the same year Basic Books published Sack's long-delayed book, *An Eye for an Eye: The Untold Story of Jewish Revenge Against Germans in 1945*. In fact, the book was rushed into publication to accompany a segment on CBS's "60 Minutes" featuring Morel's story.

Getting his book published didn't end John Sack's troubles, however. Some of the reviewers challenged the book's authenticity. One headline read "The Big Lie, Continued." Another reviewer called it "false witness" and still another speculated that "none of this ever happened." Although the Morel story was carried in newspapers in Tel Aviv, "in the United States, except for '60 Minutes,' only *The New York Times* carried it," Sack said.

The American writer insists there are lessons to be learned from his research. "How can we say to other people, the Germans, the Serbs, the Hutus, 'what you're doing is wrong' when we ourselves do it and then cover it up?" he asks.

"How could the Germans do it? Until we find out why, these holocausts will continue. If we hate and we act on that hate, then we have even more hate later on. You don't have to be a German to become like that. We all have it in us to become like Nazis. Hate is like a muscle. The more we exercise it, the bigger it gets," Sack says. His belief in his mission is expressed most succinctly in his book's dedication: "For all who died and for all who, because of this story, might live."

As for the book's commercial reception, the *New Republic* carried one advertisement for it but wouldn't carry a second one. Instead, according to a recent article in *The Washington Post*, *New Republic* literary editor Leon Wieseltier said shortly after the book came out that it was "one of the stupidest books I've ever read and I frankly resolved to do as much damage as I could." At the time of the book's publication, neither *The Washington Post* nor *The New York Times* reviewed it. This unwillingness even to acknowledge the book's existence led *New York* magazine to publish an article in May 1994 headlined "The Book They Dare Not Review." That

article reported that two leading scholars, Istvan Deak and Arno Mayer, had verified that the kinds of crimes Sack reported in his book did indeed take place.

Eventually *The Nation*, a liberal journal, printed an article on the book by historian Jon Wiener. However, it contained statements by both Deak and Mayer that seemed to recant or disavow their quotations in *New York* magazine. Wiener's own conclusion was that Sack "distorts and sensationalizes history." Wiener added that although Sack "deserves credit for finding and doing the work on an important story ... his lack of skill as an historian is crippling."

Writing in the extreme Zionist *New Republic*, Harvard University's Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, author of the heavily publicized book, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, attacked Sack personally, accusing him of "outright omission or virtual concealment of relevant numbers ... fictionalization [and] insouciance about hard evidence." The *Harvard Crimson* then accepted an ad in which Sack challenged Harvard's Goldhagen to a debate, a challenge that was not accepted.

Sack's interest in speaking at the Holocaust Museum resulted from an invitation to Goldhagen to speak there in April 1996. Goldhagen's thesis is that most of the German people were willing participants in the Holocaust, and that their crimes were rooted in German history and culture.

"I'm basically saying the exact opposite of Goldhagen — that you don't have to be German to do this," Sack said. "When I see all this publicity going to someone who's absolutely 100 percent dead wrong, I want to speak out."

In his National Press Club talk Sack acknowledged, in answer to a question, that Basic Books printed 17,000 copies of his book, but that it no longer is obtainable from the publisher. Sack refuses to attribute this to censorship, but instead blames the vagaries of the book trade.

Nevertheless, he admitted that he now is trying to buy back the rights from Basic Books. If he concludes that the publisher is deliberately trying to keep the book off the market, Sack vows to have the last word. "If I can't get the rights back, I'll put it on the Internet for free," he told his audience.

"Thus, as we do nothing but enact history, we say little but recite it: nay, rather, in that widest sense, our whole spiritual life is built thereon. For, strictly considered, what is all knowledge too but recorded experience, and a product of history; of which, therefore, reasoning and belief, no less than action and passion, are essential materials?"

— Thomas Carlyle

Journal Scholarship

"... There are serious scholars, or people you would find serious in the sense that they unearth new information, who publish in, for example, the *Journal* of the Institute for Historical Review, which dedicates itself to proving, for example, that the gas — there were no gas chambers at Nazi death camps. There has been scholarship, Christopher, in those journals. Let there be no doubt about it. They have uncovered train records that many of us who study this field didn't know existed. They go to the actual archives ..."

— Eric Breindel, *New York Post* editor and columnist, on the "Charlie Rose Show," broadcast nationwide May 8, 1996, on the PBS network. He was speaking with *Vanity Fair* writer Christopher Hitchens. Breindel, who is Jewish, is a staunch defender of Israel and Zionist interests, and a harsh critic of Holocaust revisionism.



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Hitler as 'Enlightenment Intellectual': The Enduring Allure of Hitlerism

Hitler as Philosophe: Remnants of the Enlightenment in National Socialism, by Lawrence Birken. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1995. Hardcover. 120 pages. Reference notes. Bibliography. Index. \$45.00.

Reviewed by Mark Weber

A specter is haunting the world — the specter of Hitlerism. That, in short, is the stern warning of this provocative book, written by an Assistant Professor of History at Ball State University (Indiana), and published by Praeger, a leading US academic publisher.

In spite of decades of vehement vilification, says author Lawrence Birken, Hitler's views have enduring and dangerous appeal — not because they are bizarre and alien, but precisely because they are rational and well grounded in Western thought. In particular, Birken stresses, Hitlerism is firmly rooted in the rationalist and scientific outlook of the 18th-century European Enlightenment. This is not meant as a compliment, however; the author is hostile to the West and its traditions. Rejecting the American and Western historical legacy, Prof. Birken openly calls for a new, racially homogenized America.

For more than half a century, Hitler and his views have been ceaselessly demonized in motion pictures, on television and in the print media. And yet, according to Birken, the appeal of Hitlerism remains so potent that it threatens the ideal of a racially "redefined" America of "higher unity." As traditional standards and long-established cultural, racial and religious values come under ever greater attack, and as this country's racial and cultural crisis becomes ever more acute, Birken fears that those who are unwilling to accept the "redefined" society that is developing in America and Europe will turn in ever greater numbers to Hitler's alternative vision of society. Hitlerism, Birken says, will loom ever larger as a dangerously seductive "siren song."

The author has no doubt made a sincere effort to provide an informed and objective look at Hitler and his views. But even if we overlook the numerous misspellings of proper names and titles, and the often polemical prose style, this is a badly flawed

work. Birken's understanding of what Hitler really thought and believed is both limited and skewed.

This is due in large part to the author's exclusive reliance on English translations of Hitler's writings and speeches (apparently he cannot read German), and a naive trust in unreliable secondary studies. These include Robert Waite's *The Psychopathic God: Adolf Hitler* (1977), a sensationalistic psychodramatization, and Hermann Rauschning's *Revolution of Nihilism* (1939), a thoroughly discredited diatribe. (See "Rauschning's Phony 'Conversations With Hitler': An Update," *Winter 1985 Journal*, pp. 499-500.)

Birken also quotes repeatedly from *The Testament of Adolf Hitler: The Hitler-Bormann Documents*, supposedly a transcript of "table talk" remarks made by Hitler in February and April 1945. These "documents" are fake, says British historian David Irving, who reports that the late Swiss banker François Genoud admitted to him that he was the author.

'A Genuine Intellectual'

Reflecting the ideological perspective that prevails in the Western world today, scholars of Hitler and Third Reich Germany have tended to dismiss the German leader's intellectual outlook as simplistic and crude — or even crazy. Many play down or simply deny Hitler's place in Western culture "as a means of sanitizing that culture," says Birken. "But if we are to read Hitler neither to condemn nor to praise but merely to understand, then we come away with a very different conclusion about his place in European history."

Scholars and others have made a major mistake in failing to take Hitler seriously as a thinker, argues Birken, who believes that the German political leader "must be regarded as a genuine intellectual" on a par with Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud. Birken's assessment is not as startling as many might believe. As he notes, as early as 1953, British historian Hugh R. Trevor-Roper "evoked the image of Hitler as a kind of synthesis of Spengler and Napoleon, noting that of all world conquerors the German leader had been the most 'philosophical'..." More recently, German historian Rainer Zitelmann established in a study of impressive scholarship that Hitler's outlook was rational, self-consistent and "modern." (R. Zitelmann, *Hitler: Selbstver-*

ständnis eines Revolutionärs [second edition, 1989].)

Moreover, Hitler's outlook was very much a part of the Western intellectual tradition. In his "combination of an almost religious faith with a revolutionary secularism," writes Birken, "Hitler represented the continuation of an essentially Enlightenment style of thought... Nazism, and especially Hitler's exposition of it, represented an attenuated and popularized form of the Enlightenment style of thought."

Hitler had a gift for presenting his message in an attractive, accessible form. Writes Birken:

The most attractive feature of Hitler's ideology was thus its optimism. It was not merely his mood but his message that carried an infectious excitement. He was a secular messiah proclaiming a Germanic version of the "good news." The possibility of class reconciliation, the plans for a national revival, the identification of a universal enemy whose elimination would usher in the millennium, all stirred his audiences to the very depths. Hitler spoke the language of the [Enlightenment] *philosophes*, a language that had almost passed out of existence in the rarefied strata of the grand intelligentsia.

However, placing Hitler and Hitlerism in the intellectual tradition of the West, Birken continues, "should do less to raise our opinion" of Hitlerism, than to "lower our opinion" of "the intellectual history of the West."

Economic Views

Hitler's economic worldview, writes Birken, was likewise rational, self-consistent, progressive, and entirely in keeping with Western tradition. "Hitler's economic ideas were also permeated by Enlightenment notions of progress," and were "closer to Ricardo and Marx than to Machiavelli or Keynes." Birken adds:

...A careful reading of his speeches and writings suggests that he was neither a mercantilist nor a Keynesian, neither a medievalist nor a marginalist. Rather... his economic ideas fit all too well into the classical-physiocratic style of thought.

Hitler believed that social and national considerations, not economic ones, should be paramount in society. The economic and political system must serve the nation, not the other way around. Thus, Birken points out, while "political economy played an important role in his thinking," Hitler

did not restore the primacy of the state after all but, quite the contrary, subordinated the state itself to a dynamic of aggressive technological and cultural expansion. In doing this, Hitler



Adolf Hitler was a "genuine intellectual" in the Enlightenment tradition of reason and rationalism, argues Prof. Birken in his book *Hitler as Philosopher*.

also asserted himself against the last remnants of aristocratic civility at the same time that he opposed the emerging relativism of consumer culture.

As Birken explains, Hitler believed that "all growth could be traced to individual effort — but only at the service of the common good. He thus tempered what might be taken as a 'libertarian' definition of inventiveness with a somber collectivism." Believing that socially useful creativity was "the product of individual geniuses of high personality value," Hitler supported equal social opportunity for all, and opposed legal and social barriers to individual economic achievement and success. Governmental and social policies, he believed, should encourage merit-based social mobility.

Hitler was critical of both capitalism and Marxism — the first because it was "insufficiently democratic," and the latter because it was "too democratic" or "leveling." While supporting economic growth across national boundaries, "Hitler also took what he considered to be a conservative stand against the coming hyper-commercialism of an emerging global economy."



Hitler was immensely popular among his people. "Not merely his mood but his message carried an infectious excitement," says Prof. Birken, who calls Hitler a "secular messiah." Here he is greeted by girls in Berchtesgaden, a town in the Bavarian Alps.

Views on Race and Religion

Although he is endlessly castigated as "the most notorious racist of the twentieth century," Hitler's racial views were actually quite in harmony with mainstream 19th- and early 20th-century European thinking. "It should be obvious," writes Birken, "that Hitler possessed a 'classical' theory of race which dovetailed nicely with his classical notions of political economy."

Far from being aberrant or bizarre, his views on race were consistent with those of most prominent Westerners in the decades before the Second World War. And while Birken does not specifically mention it, Hitler's racial views were comparable to those of Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and Winston Churchill.

Contrary to popular belief, Hitler never supported notions of breeding a homogenous blond "hyper-Aryan" race. Accepting the reality that the German population consisted of several distinct sub-racial groups, he stressed the German people's national and social unity. A certain degree of racial variety was desirable, he thought, and too much racial blending or homogeneity could be harmful because it would homogenize and thus eliminate superior as well as inferior genetic traits.

Hitler believed that "both conservative prudery and radical eroticism" harmed society, and he opposed birth control because it tended to lower the genetic quality of the society that practices it.

While he was critical of Christianity, Hitler was no atheist. "The religion of Hitlerism was thus essentially a kind of deism," concludes Birken. Like Thomas Jefferson and other prominent early American leaders, Hitler equated God with "the dominion

of natural laws throughout the whole universe." Thus, "for Hitler, national socialism was natural socialism."

Attitude Toward Jews

It is "of course, a great mistake to see anti-Semitism as a rejection of Enlightenment values," writes Birken. "On the contrary, the Enlightenment simply secularized rather than destroyed traditional Judeophobia." (No Western thinker was more outspokenly anti-Jewish than Voltaire, the great French *philosophe*, who regarded the Jews as "enemies of mankind.") The Enlightenment concept of social "fraternity," Birken writes, demands social solidarity, which implies that Jews, as an alien and self-absorbed people, cannot fit in.

Hitler's hostile attitude toward Jews, Birken writes, was neither irrational nor aberrant. He saw "Jews as the personification of a great lie": that is, while they pretended to be merely a religious community, in fact they constituted a self-selected national-ethnic group with international ambitions. Because he regarded the Jews as the enemies of all peoples, Hitler held that combatting Jewish power and influence should be the common duty of all nations — a view that Birken calls an expression of "Germanic universalism."

The United States

Hitler's attitude toward the United States was mixed. He saw much to admire in 18th- and 19th-century America, and as Birken notes, he praised this country's pre-1940s pro-White racial policies, its restrictions on non-White immigration, and its pioneering adoption of eugenics measures.

But Hitler also saw ominous trends during the 1920s and 1930s. Echoing the views of American industrialist Henry Ford, he was dismayed by the spectacular growth of Jewish power and cultural influence, and regarded Franklin Roosevelt's "New Deal" administration as a virtual revolution in American life, through which Jews largely usurped the country's traditional ruling class.

A Persistent Allure

The defeat of Germany in 1945, Birken rightly notes, "clearly marked a watershed" in world history, and especially for the West:

In a real sense, Hitler's defeat implicitly became the defeat of the European nation-state and the Enlightenment values that underpinned it. Germany's heirs, the United States and the Soviet Union, were both fundamentally transnational, multiracial empires whose territories were seemingly unlimited.

As a result, for half a century we have been liv-

ing in what Birken calls a “consumer capitalist” world in which “the hierarchical order of sex and race which had originally sustained bourgeois nationalism has been disintegrating” and in which “the increasing relativization of values is encouraged by the ever greater globalization of the economy and consequent emergence of a multinational business elite.”

This new world order is less durable than it might appear, says Birken. The recent collapse of the multi-ethnic, multi-racial Soviet Union, he warns, portends similar problems for the American empire. Even a mere contraction of the economy could threaten “to dissolve the United States into several races.” In Birken’s view, racial nationalism threatens “the continued existence of the United States.” He warns:

What Hitler said in the thirties is thus what our racial nationalists are saying today: namely, that a genuinely inclusive multiracial nation violates the natural order of things. The United States must either be a white-dominated state or a collection of breakaway republics made up of this or that group.

In short: if Hitler was right, America is an increasingly unnatural and artificial construct that does not deserve to survive, and will not survive.

Birken fears that Hitlerism will become ever more attractive to those who reject today’s supranational “consumer capitalism,” and who resist the rapidly emerging “genuinely inclusive multiracial” order. This alternative vision has appeal beyond America and Europe, Birken believes. As he notes, Hitler’s fight against the British empire — a war he actually never sought nor wanted — “won him [Hitler] the admiration of colonial peoples from Ireland to India ...”

A New ‘Cosmic’ Nation

Birken concludes his book with a fervent call for “the gradual formation of an American race as a higher synthesis. Then the Americans will truly constitute a universal or ‘cosmic’ people.” In Birken’s view, the “race myth” and Hitlerism “will continue to tempt us” unless Americans “can be given a genuine metaphysical foundation.” This “metaphysical foundation” must be to “uncreate race” through massive racial mixing. Therefore, Birken writes, “we should not be afraid of that dirty little word, ‘miscegenation’.” (Consistent with this vision, President Bill Clinton, in his much-discussed June 14, 1997, speech in San Diego on race relations, openly proclaimed the goal of making America “the world’s first truly multiracial democracy.”)

Given the reluctance of many Americans, partic-

ularly conservative Whites, to warmly embrace this new “universal” nation, Birken says “we must have an education system that is able to instill this redefinition of American culture.”

“Before we try uniting the world,” Birken concludes, “let us try uniting ourselves. Until we do so, the siren song of Hitlerism will call to us.”

Stark Alternatives

To anyone who views the past with an open mind, history demonstrates the utterly fantastic nature of the goal laid out by Prof. Birken (and President Clinton) — a vision no less utopian than Marxian Communism. In any case, to meld the American population into a “universal” racial-cultural entity would require government repression on a scale unimaginable today.

Few Americans today are able or willing to fully grasp the enormous implications of the radical program that intellectuals such as Birken (and political leaders such as Clinton) are spelling out for our future. But once they do (and as Prof. Birken fears) many will likely turn to Hitlerism as an alternative to the official prevailing ideology. The decades-long campaign of vilification of Hitler and Third Reich Germany may actually contribute to this by convincing millions of Americans that Hitlerism is *the* antithesis of the Establishment’s ideology, and thus the only real alternative.

In spite of its defects, *Hitler as Philosophe* effectively dispels some widely-held misconceptions about Hitler and Hitlerism, acknowledges the critical importance of the race issue, and boldly spells out stark alternatives for the future of America and Europe. For this the author deserves credit.

Morality and Natural Selection

“It must not be forgotten that although a high standard of morality gives but a slight advantage to each individual man and his children of the same tribe, yet an increase in the number of well-endowed men and advancement in the standard of morality will certainly give an immense advantage to one tribe over another. A tribe including many members who, possessing in a high degree the spirit of patriotism, fidelity, obedience, courage and sympathy, who are always ready to aid one another, and to sacrifice themselves for the common good, would be victorious over most other tribes; and this would be natural selection.”

— Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871).

Letters

20 Years in the US Foreign Service

I am a former diplomat in the US Foreign Service, speak and read Arabic (as well as several other languages), and have lived overseas in France, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia. I have twice had lunch with Israel's ex-Prime Minister Shimon Peres (when he was still Foreign Minister), and have many Israeli friends. In their candid moments, they will admit that the Holocaust is a firewall constructed to keep to a minimum American criticism of Israeli foreign policy (that is, aggrandizement). In the vernacular it's called "guilt tripping."

I have several interesting anecdotes I could recount from my 20 years in Washington, DC, and overseas which support the revisionist thesis, or at least dilute the inflated and hysterical claims of the cultural commissars.

I hope this gets through the welter of hate mail you must be getting. Keep up the good fight to preserve free speech in America. Right now the most endangered environment for free speech is, ironically, the American university campus, where cultural commissars are attempting to limit discussion of the Holocaust to a one-sided parody.

M.J.D.
Chicago, Ill.

Qualified Appreciation from Israel

Jürgen Graf's essay, "The Social and Political Impact of the Holocaust Campaign in Today's Europe" (Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*) is brilliant! He is right about the intentional purpose of the open immigration policy, the "anti-racism" laws, "democracy," and the Holocaust campaign. This is the program of the "New World Order" elite.

On the whole, the *Journal* is very interesting and informative.

However, I don't agree with most of the anti-Israel articles. For example, I cannot agree at all with Donald Neff's article, "Zionism's Violent Legacy" (Jan.-Feb. 1996 issue). It should be remembered that the treatment of Palestine's Jews by the British authorities was not very humane, and that in 1948 the Arabs were waging war against the Jews in Palestine. The Deir Yassin "massacre" is a myth. Today Israel is simply trying to survive!

The Holocaust myth propaganda is very strong here in Israel, and it is impossible even to think differently. This propaganda is part of the establishment's "New World Order" policy. I support the revisionists, and I don't like the "Holocaust" myth. It is not ethical to enrich oneself building "Holocaust" museums.

You are doing great work. I am enclosing a \$50 donation to help support the Institute.

B.H.
Jerusalem, Israel

Permissible Revisionism

The shameless Roger Garaudy/Abbé Pierre episode in the land that gave the West the Enlightenment, along with the St. Martin's Press cancellation, under pressure, of Irving's biography of Goebbels, and the shutting down of Japan's *Marco Polo* magazine, are proof positive that the only permissible Holocaust revisionism is that which *magnifies* German brutality and collective guilt — as manifest in Daniel Goldhagen's hateful book, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*.

M.J.
Great Neck, New York

Myriad of Half Truths and Lies

While surfing the net I struck your Web page, and was thrilled to see that others share my view of

World War II. At last someone to stand up and state the facts, and not just what some people want us to hear!

It was only after doing a fair bit of reading on World War II that I started seeing the myriad of half truths or flat lies around this subject. I understand the difficulty in even hinting at another angle. Those who have not studied the subject are quick to label those speaking out as Nazi, White supremacist, and so forth. But if we are ever to gain a truer understanding of World War II history, and to prevent such terrible events from ever happening again, the sheer volume of inconsistencies definitely need to be addressed.

I admire you no end. Good on you!

A.R.
University of Canterbury
New Zealand
[by Internet]

Blown Out of Proportion

I downloaded some of the articles from your Web site, and am very impressed! These folks prove what many of us have believed all along: that the Holocaust has been greatly exaggerated and blown way out of proportion. Please send me more information on the Institute for Historical Review.

R.P.
Salisbury, North Carolina
[by Internet]

Third Reich Book Burnings and Jewish-Zionist Book Censorship

Doug Collins writes that the suppression of "politically incorrect" literature today, such as in Canada and western Europe, are "in essence no different from the Nazi book-burnings of the 1930s." He adds: "There was one thing to be said for the Nazis, though. they

did their book burning in public. We do it secretly" (Nov.-Dec. 1995 *JHR*, p. 27).

Actually, the Third Reich book burnings were essentially "publicity stunts," meant to focus attention on and encourage public censure of the trashy, pornographic and subversive literature that was very widespread in Germany in the decade before Hitler came to power. Among the targeted items were, for example, Marxist writings and "religious" literature such as the obscene and anti-Christian Babylonian Talmud.

Probably the best known of these events was the bonfire burning in Berlin on May 10, 1933, at a large square near the University. Some 40,000 people packed the square to cheer on the 5,000 students who took part. As Irving points out in his new biography of Goebbels, the initiative for this "symbolic" destruction of "decadent and anti-German literature" came from the party's student organization. Similar book burnings were staged simultaneously in every German university city.

In an address to the Berlin gathering that was broadcast by radio to the entire nation, Goebbels declared: "The era of an exaggerated Jewish intellectualism is over ... This symbolic fire is blazing now outside many a German university to show the world that here the intellectual basis of the [liberal-democratic] November Republic is sinking into the ground."

It should also be kept in mind that such burnings had an honorable historical precedent. During Germany's early 19th-century struggle for freedom against both foreign oppression and reactionary rule by oppressive princes, German students publicly burned reactionary writings.

In contrast to the public Third Reich book burnings, Jewish-Zionist organizations have for decades carried out a systematic campaign to silence all critical or even non-flattering treatments of Zionism, Israel and Jewish his-

tory, as well as every non-critical treatment of Third Reich Germany. For the most part this campaign is carried out underhandedly, using behind-the-scenes pressure and threats, although in some countries such as France, the force of law is used. When these aren't sufficient, brute terror is applied. (A good example is the July 1984 arson destruction of the IHR's office-warehouse.)

Through its debunking of powerful and enduring historical myths, scholarly historical revisionism inevitably will seem to "exonerate" Third Reich Germany. For this reason, it is understandable that revisionists might seek to put some distance between themselves and the National Socialist regime, to deflect the predictable charge of being "pro-Nazi apologists." However understandable and even justifiable this distancing may be, it must not be a pretext for historical distortion.

D.M.

St. Louis, Mo.

A Holy Man

As a devoted student of Pius XII, I want to thank you for your excellent article in defense of this truly holy man ["Pope Pius XII During the Second World War," by Mary Ball Martinez, in the Sept.-Oct. 1993 *Journal*]. I have an extensive library on Pius XII, and found your article informative and in agreement with much of the information I have uncovered.

L.W.

[by Internet]

Ray of Sunshine

Receiving the May-June 1997 *Journal* felt like a sudden and unexpected ray of sunshine. I don't mind the delay. The waiting was well worthwhile.

I am under no illusion that the crisis is all over yet, but since you have survived arson and smear campaigns of unprecedented ferocity, I am sure you will survive this internal turmoil as well. You are the true survivors! I admire

your tenacity. Overworked and financially strapped, you are carrying on determinedly even after several others have left the ship. May this ship prove to be unsinkable, thus confounding all the enemies!

Our sympathies and prayers are with you! I am doing what little I can to make the transition more bearable. Enclosed with my book order is a donation [\$100] to help rebuild the IHR — this most effective voice for the truth in history. I'm eagerly looking forward to the next issue of the most scholarly of historical reviews.

M.S.

Ottawa, Canada

A Gold Mine

I was looking on the net for information on the Boer war, but there was very little. With great joy I found Greg Raven's [IHR] site, and found it a gold mine of information. I would personally like to thank you for this great service. Keep up the good work.

G.K. (grade nine)

[by internet]

Hiroshima Bombing Was Right and Necessary

In their articles in the May-June 1997 *Journal*, Mark Weber and Greg Pavlik argue that the American nuclear bombings of Japan could have been avoided. My response to that is: why should they have been? The Japs got exactly what they deserved. My disagreement with Weber and Pavlik is not so much one of political attitude, but is based on the fact that I was reading newspapers in 1945 and they were not.

The hatred we had for the Japs at that time was one we Americans had never felt before and have never felt since for any enemy. It cannot be described in words; it can only be experienced. I was part of that hate, which has not completely left me to this day. It may help to grasp its depth if we recall that at the time President Truman's mail was running eight to one in favor of "unconditional surrender." It is useless to

now say we were foolish to insist on this. The American people simply would not have tolerated anything less.

There were also practical military considerations. How many recall what happened when we invaded Okinawa, the last island we took before end of the war? What we ran into was a last-ditch, clenched-teeth, do-or-die resistance that did not end until every last Jap soldier had been shot, bombed, burned or blasted out of his cave or bunker. As a grand finale, several thousand Jap soldiers and civilians committed mass suicide by jumping to their deaths from a high cliff. That ought to give some idea of the kind of people we were fighting. It certainly impressed Truman's military advisers, who took this fanaticism into account in anticipating the likely consequences of an invasion of the Jap home islands.

And there was a very good political reason to use the Bomb: it provided a sobering demo to the Russkies of just exactly what we could do to them, if need be. And be in not the slightest doubt that it was a very effective curb to their ambitions (at least until they got a Bomb of their own).

Weber goes to some length to show that the Japs were ready to surrender, and would have done so even without the nukes. Well, the fact remains that they surrendered only after we dropped the Bomb.

And let's be clear about just why they surrendered: they did so only because their Emperor told them to. Had he not done so, beaten or not beaten, the Japs would have fought to the last man, woman and child with knives, rocks, clubs, garden implements, or whatever, all the while subsisting on roots and berries.

I put this question to Weber and Pavlik: if you had been President, and had decided not to use the Bomb, would you have been prepared to face tens of thousands, or hundreds of thousands, of angry, aggrieved American par-

ents. Could you have said to them something like: "Well, yes, we had this powerful weapon, and we could have used it, and even though using it might have saved your son's life, we're really a civilized people, and just couldn't do a thing like that."

*Richard G. Phillips
Derry, New Hampshire*

Day's Criticism of Chamberlin

Your tribute to William Henry Chamberlin in the Nov.-Dec. 1994 *Journal* (p. 18) calls him "one of the few western journalists in Moscow who tried to provide truthful reporting about the imposed famine" in the Soviet Union.

Former *Chicago Tribune* correspondent Donald Day gives a different story. In his memoir *Onward Christian Soldiers* (published by Noontide Press), he writes (pp. 126, 127):

"[Walter] Duranty, [Eugene] Lyons and Chamberlain [sic] (*Christian Science Monitor*) all made a special point of denouncing me and my reports of the great famine in the Ukraine in 1934 when some five million people died of starvation. Lyons, after his reformation, estimated the victims at between seven and fifteen million ... In books written after they had left Russia both Lyons and Chamberlain admitted it was they who had done the lying and confirmed the *Tribune's* famine reports ...

"Another correspondent who carefully complied with Soviet wishes was Henry Chamberlin of *The Christian Science Monitor*. He has also written books since he left Russia; excellent books, the result of much observation and hard work. But no matter how excellent they may be, such books and articles written after many years of doping American newspaper readers with false news and propaganda disguised as 'the truth about Russia' does not excuse the writers from betraying their calling as correspondents."

By the way, Eugene Lyons, in his book *Assignment to Utopia*

(New York: 1937), maintained that Stalin suffocated to death scores of currency-smuggling Jews in airtight chambers — an early version of the "gas chamber" story?

Well, for what's it's worth, here's a revisionist's revision of *Journal* revisionism. Anyway, keep up the good work!

*M.O.
Oesteraes, Norway*

Day's verdict is overly harsh, I think. In The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine (New York: 1986), historian Robert Conquest relates (pp. 307, 321) that Chamberlin and a few others were able to provide, at least "adequate" reports on real conditions in the Soviet Union, in spite of censorship. At the same time, Conquest concedes that "it was only when they left the country for good that men like Chamberlin and Lyons were able to tell the full story." Journalists such as Chamberlin who wrote factually saw their careers suffer as a result. As Conquest notes, "reporters of the truth like Muggersidge and Chamberlin were under continuous and violent attack by pro-Communist elements in the West over the next generation."

— The Editor

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The Holocaust Story in the Crossfire: The Weber-Shermer Holocaust Debate

You'll be amazed as Occidental College professor Michael Shermer squares off against *Journal* editor Mark Weber in this unforgettable clash of wits on the most politicized chapter of 20th century history.

Shermer, just back from an inspection of the sites of the wartime concentration camps of Auschwitz, Majdanek, Mauthausen and Dachau, cites a "convergence of evidence" in his defense of the Holocaust story.

Weber, Director of the Institute for Historical Review, delivers a powerful summary of the revisionist critique of the Holocaust story, and gives a devastating response to Shermer's arguments.

Shermer, editor-publisher of *Skeptic* magazine, makes one startling concession after another. He acknowledges that numerous Holocaust claims — once "proven" by eyewitnesses and courts — are obviously not true. Shermer concedes, for example, that an execution "gas chamber" at Majdanek — shown to thousands of trusting tourists yearly — is a fraud. (At Nuremberg the Allies "proved" that the Germans murdered *one and half million* people at this one camp.)

This two hour clash — at a special IHR meeting on July 22, 1995 — dramatically gives the lie to the often-repeated claim that the Holocaust story is "undebatable."

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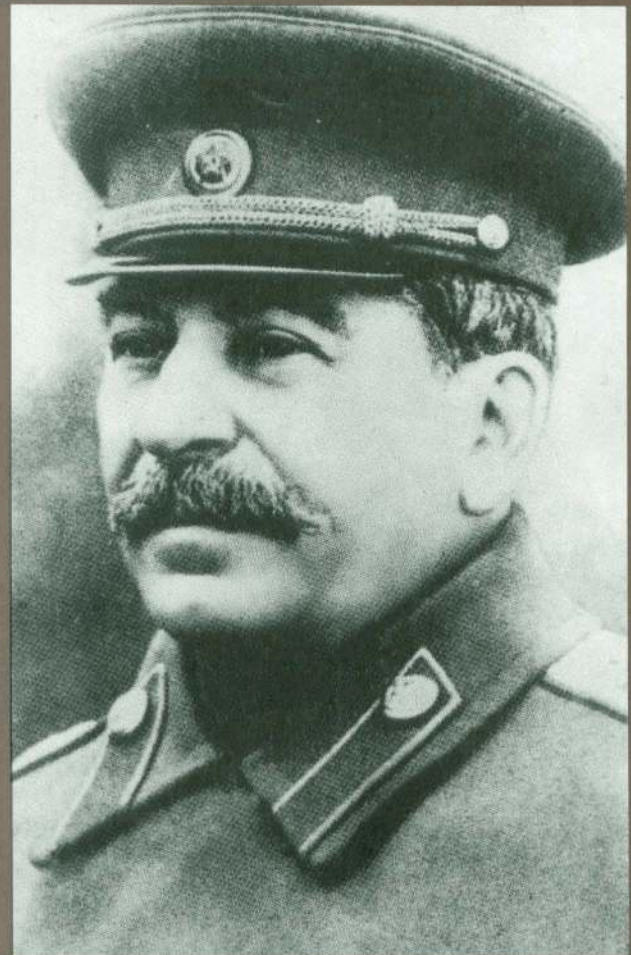
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Clash of the Titans



Pearl Harbor in History

James J. Martin

Claude Lanzmann and 'Shoah'

Serge Thion

Exonerating Pearl Harbor's Scapegoats

Review by John Weir

Attention! Fascism!

Jaroslav Zadencki

Lyndon Johnson and Israel

Donald Neff

Stalin's Plan to Conquer Europe

*Reviews by Joseph Bishop
and Daniel Michaels*

The Heart-warming, Infuriating, Informative, and Revisionist memoir that Dares to Tell the Truth About the Postwar Trials of the Germans

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

AMERICAN TEENAGER JOE HALOW was still a boy when he sailed to war-ravaged Germany in late 1946. The year he spent there, taking part in some of the most sensational of the war-crimes trials of the defeated Nazis, turned him into a man.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's account of his year in postwar Germany, above all his work as a court reporter during the U.S. Army courts-martial at Dachau. There Halow witnessed, recorded and transcribed some of the most gripping testimony from some of the most sensational trials of the postwar years: of SS guards from Buchenwald, Mauthausen, and Dora/Nordhausen; of the inmates who carried out their orders as kapos (prisoner

trusties); and of German villagers who attacked and murdered downed American fliers in the last phase of the Allies' terrifying air war.

Armed with an ironclad faith in American righteousness when he arrived, young Halow soon saw the flaws and abuses in the trials: reliance on *ex post facto* law and broad conspiracy theories; abuse of prisoners during interrogation; and the shocking tolerance, even encouragement, of perjured testimony by concentration camp survivors. The teenaged American court reporter came to sympathize with the plight of the accused, particularly those convicted, sentenced or executed unjustly.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's story of his coming of age, of his loss of innocence in the Dachau courts. And it's the human drama of how he came to terms with his own anti-German feelings living and working in a Germany still heaped with rubble and ruled by the black market, in the shadow of the looming Iron Curtain and approaching Cold War.

Innocent at Dachau is also the story of how, four decades later, Joe Halow went back — back to the long-classified records of the Army's trials at Dachau where he found astounding confirmation from official sources of his own misgivings about the trials; and back to Germany for a moving visit with one of the German SS men Halow watched testify about his role at Nordhausen concentration camp.

Outspoken, informative, moving, *Innocent at Dachau* is a unique testimony to one American's quest for truth, understanding and honor, in a realm ruled even today

by shibboleth and taboo — a book that deserves to be read, and read again.

Joseph Halow was born and raised in Altoona, Pennsylvania. After a brief stint in the U.S. Army following World War II, during which he served in Peking, China, Mr. Halow served as a court reporter at the U.S. Army war crimes trials at Dachau. Mr. Halow has had a long career in the export-import business, during which he headed an association that promoted the exportation of American grain. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of The George Washington University, Joseph Halow is the author of numerous articles on agricultural affairs, as well as a book, *U.S. Grain: The Political Commodity*. He lives near Washington, D.C.

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

by Joseph Halow

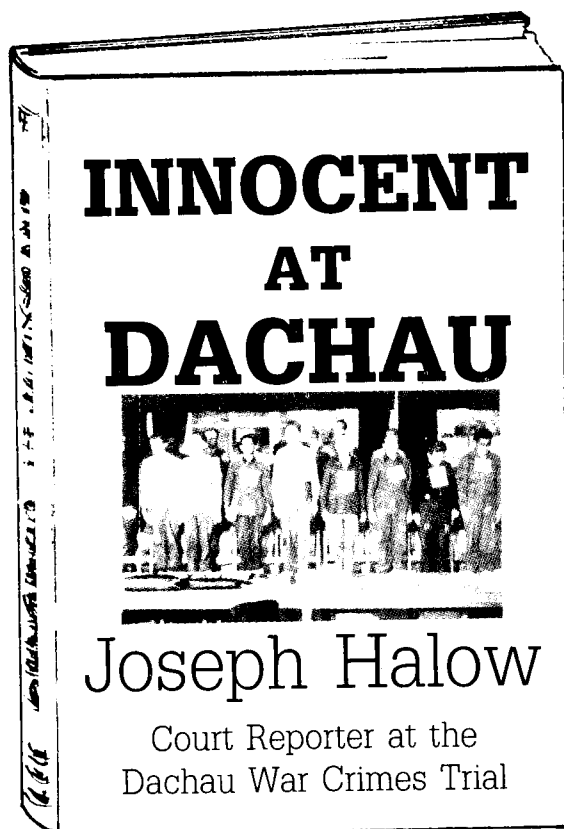
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TOP: The author at publisher's 1990 historical conference.

INSET: Germany, 1946: The author transcribing his courtroom "take" for the record.



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Reflections on the Origins and Consequences of the Pacific War

Pearl Harbor's Place in History

JAMES J. MARTIN

Throughout history there are spectacular and singular happenings of such dramatic circumstances that they seem to hang suspended in time, all other actions and proceedings halted at those moments as though frozen. In our recent past, two such events in particular seem to qualify for inclusion in such a category: the attack on Pearl Harbor of December 7, 1941, and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. One imagines these stunning occurrences as almost pendant backdrops to subsequent events as though incapable of being dispersed. Every time we once more see moving pictures of them we can imagine easily that the billowing smoke and the explosions at Pearl Harbor actually are still being experienced there, as we also can imagine the stupefying mushroom cloud and unbelievable dazzling light of the atomic shot over Hiroshima nearly four years later.

Journalism and pictured entertainment are heavily responsible for this illusion, as well as for draining them of relationship of all kinds, especially political, as though they were simply staged spectacles, following which the props were dismantled and carried off to be restructured for still another somewhere else to make us gasp in amazement and almost dazed prostration. Few are impressed with their consequences, and even fewer are made aware



Dr. James J. Martin in 1961

of their origins. It is easier by far to believe that such incredible affairs are indeed tableaux of massive design with intended assault on the senses so vast that there really is no reason for carrying any further rumination or speculation as to their real place in the history of our days.

Among those for whom the Pearl Harbor drama is not already as remote as Roncesvalles, research

continues and revelations are noted, genially ignored by the producers of pious puffs upholding the old fairy tales, as though everything had already been placed on the record by the circle and the elements with a vital stake in the preservation of Establishment veracity. Its fundamental plea is the claim of utter, total innocence of an impending attack upon American installations and fleet in Hawaii. Its attending corollaries are (1) complete ignoring of the nature of politics and war in Asia at the time in 1941, as though the Pearl Harbor affair was simply a mindless and isolated stunt, and (2) a similar blackout of the domestic scene in the weeks and then days prior to the attack, as though public communications lacked even the tiniest smidgen of attention to the likely consequences of the crisis of the fall of 1941.

While important new information on these matters has surfaced in the last 20 or so years, it might be mentioned that a respectable compendium of material, including accounts which actually picked Pearl Harbor as the site of the coming attack weeks before it happened, could be collected from American newspapers and magazines widely circulated late in 1941. These alone indicate that the wail of

James J. Martin graduated from the University of New Hampshire in 1942 and received his M.A. (1945) and Ph.D. (1949) degrees in history from the University of Michigan. His teaching career has spanned 25 years and involved residence at educational institutions from coast to coast. Dr. Martin's books have included the 1964 two-volume classic, *American Liberalism and World Politics, 1931-1941*, as well as *Beyond Pearl Harbor*, *The Man Who Invented 'Genocide': The Public Career and Consequences of Raphael Lemkin*, and *An American Adventure in Book-burning in the Style of 1918*. He is also author of two collections of essays: *Revisionist Viewpoints* and *The Saga of Hog Island and Other Essays in Inconvenient History*. Dr. Martin has addressed six conferences of the Institute for Historical Review, including the first in 1979.

This essay is a slightly abridged and edited version of his introduction to *Beyond Pearl Harbor* (Little Current, Ont., Canada: Plowshare Press, 1981). It appears here by arrangement with the author.

innocence and outrage which promptly rose to the heavens on December 7, 1941, was spurious and misplaced.

Time magazine, with its immense readership, in its lamentably timed issue (December 8, 1941), gloated about the vast American and British war machine which was allegedly ready to spring on the Japanese, should they snap under President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "war of nerves" and "undeclared war," and react militarily. And Hallett Abend, a widely-read newspaper reporter on matters Japanese in those days, in his November 18, 1941, *Look* magazine article, "How the US Navy Will Fight Japan," which was exposed to a potential readership of about 12,000,000 Americans, included the following delicious morsel:

When the clash comes, the Japanese fleet will have to stay in home waters, to guard the islands of the [Japanese] Empire, against [US] naval raids. Our own fleet will cruise somewhere west of Hawaii, with scout planes far over the sea day and night to prevent surprise raids on the Pearl Harbor naval base or on our own West Coast cities.

The State Department, the War Department, and the Army Chief of Staff, the latter two responsible for the defense of both the base at Honolulu and the fleet when it was in the harbor, apparently were not among Abend's readers. But a veritable wheel barrow full of similar journalism could easily be assembled, and those who were reading Abend and others writing in the above vein should not have affected a pose of surprise and shock over the events of that fateful Sunday 40 years ago. After all, *Time*, in its issue referred to above, had comfortably assured all that "Everyone was ready from Rangoon to Honolulu, every man was at battle stations." In view of this mass of contemporary literature of wide circulation expecting war at any time in those tense days, one may be led to wonder how the legend of treacherous "surprise attack" ever got off the ground.

But the response even now reflects a general viewpoint in harmony with the belief that we are dealing in the main with an isolated occurrence unrelated to Asian history or world affairs, and to be considered even now as a subjective event to be seen through the eyes of a politically ignorant sailor several decks down on an exploding ship or a housewife standing on a rooftop five miles from the embattled Base, describing the smoke and the noise of the explosions. And the editorial writers still produce copy which reads like contemporary indignant screeds. The gout of self-serving evasive and irrele-



Major American warships in "battleship row" at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, settle to the bottom following the Japanese attack on the morning of December 7, 1941.

vant wrath which boiled forth on the 40th anniversary of the Pearl Harbor bombing in the US press was a remarkable confirmation of the observation made nearly five centuries ago by the anonymous observer, in his four-word "review" of Poggio Bracciolini's lopsided partisan history of Florence ("good patriot, bad historian"), on how easy it still is to be simultaneously such a proper patriot and execrable historian. For most journalists it was simply another occasion to tie the past into contemporary opportunism and to use it to buttress current policy in one way or another.

So the usual two-level perception of reality continues, one prepared for the general public and quite another for the serious historical students. Essentially the former product comes under the heading of what George Orwell described as "prolefeed," casual diversionary trivia intended to mystify and mollify, while entertaining, the vast semi-informed populace. Little if any of the war that ensued is allowed to complicate the presented spectacle.

In the sense that modern war is first of all an industrial pitting of national production strengths the Pacific War represented two gigantic clusters of major industries in conflict. Nevertheless, the Japanese were wholly outclassed from the start in total size, capitalization, labor force, resources and general wherewithal. The remarkable thing is that the forces of Imperial Japan persisted so long. Though in eventual total and profound defeat, their overall performance was not lost on East Asians, and its impressiveness may never be forgotten by them, whatever devices may have been employed by their conquerors to make its conduct appear "immoral" and reprehensible (a maneuver that has been employed against the vanquished since antiquity).

The collapse of Euro-American colonialism, despite the "victory," was swift and drastic. Because its preservation was a major factor in American policy leading to the confrontation, we may begin here by noting a spectacular demise of a major war aim of the "victorious." The subsequent incredible industrial expansion of all the Far East and all the attendant changes of the last 40 years are integrally related to the course and outcome of that war. Japanese resurgence and their remarkable pressure in the industrial and commercial world today remind one of Lawrence Dennis' reflection on the "bloody futility of frustrating the strong." One may observe here that all this has seemingly taken place without any expenditure of blood at all. But the breaking of the impasse and logjam of the 1930s in the Pacific War was its presaging. Surely things could not have gone on that way very much longer; the war of 1941-45 simply detoured the course of events a few years.

There is little need to dwell upon "misunderstanding" and "lack of communication" as war causes, though these surely were abominably bad, no matter what angle one wants to pursue. Japan had a considerable exposure in the American press, almost all invidious, whether it emanated from patrician Ivy League Japanophobe political adversaries such as Henry L. Stimson, or from the Stalinist, Trotskyite and pro-Maoist columnists and reporters who proliferated in the papers and magazines, and political advisers of similar stripe who flourished behind the scenes. The latter seemed to be concerned more about future Chinese than Japanese affairs, but surely recognized that a Red China was out of the question until the Japanese had been driven from mainland Asia. So came years of malicious misrepresentation convincing Americans that the Japanese were utterly beyond the pale of respectability for their alleged limitless "militarism."

How tiny the funnel was through which actual Japanese information got to Americans was revealed after war was under way. Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress and one of the Roosevelt regime's principal propaganda chiefs, asserted that there were in his opinion only *three* non-Japanese in the entire USA at Pearl Harbor time with a real command of Japanese language. *Publishers Weekly* (September 26, 1942, p. 1192) suggested this was too small, and believed the number to be one hundred. But even this is a microscopically small percentage of a country then of about 132,000,000.

Unique among commentaries on Japan and its people was John Patric's *Yankee Hobo in the Orient*, issued originally by Doubleday in 1943 as *Why Japan Was Strong*. Its sympathetic and understanding portrait of the Japanese people must have

shocked many Americans, though overstated was his conclusion that most of what was wrong and undesirable about Japan was its Statism. Surely their version was an extremely muted form when compared with that of the USA's noble "ally," Soviet Russia, accentuated undoubtedly by the aggravated poverty of the 1930s decade, when Patric wandered about Japan almost at will. Material such as this, had it been widespread here in the decade before the war came about, might have had some modifying effect. (An absorbing summary of American misconceptions about the Japanese in the period ending about March 1941 can be found in Porter Sargent's *Getting US Into War* [Boston, 1941], "Prodding Japan Into War," pp. 525-545.)

But communication was not noticeably better on many other levels, including the diplomatic. Stimson, while Secretary of State under President Herbert C. Hoover, during the crisis of 1931-32 involving Japan in Manchuria and North China, utilized a novel device to cut down on "discourse" with the Japanese. According to the two anonymous journalists who wrote *High Low Washington* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1932, pp. 159-61), Stimson excluded all Japanese foreign correspondents from his press conferences in these times, presumably on the grounds that they lacked sufficient command of English to grasp the tortured writhings through which the Secretary of State sought to present American positions in his "agonizing acrobatics," as the authors, in attendance themselves, described the fumbling proceedings. (Stimson did far better later on as Roosevelt's Secretary of War, and was much clearer as to what he "meant" in 1940-1941, in particular.)

Under Roosevelt, and his Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, a few months later, the situation got no better, and, subsequently, much worse. The Japanese view that Japan was as entitled to a separate power position in Asia via a device approximating the Monroe Doctrine, behind which Roosevelt increasingly functioned in extending, ultimately, American power virtually to the western coast of Africa, was denounced in the pre-Pearl Harbor decade. The rigid unwillingness to recognize this obviously played a big part in bringing about war. Only now are we noticing attention to this matter which is sober and appreciative, not a distillation of snorts and catcalls, denunciation and ridicule. Some serious attention is due to the points made by Dr. Gerald K. Haines in his "American Myopia and the Japanese Monroe Doctrine," published in *Prologue: Journal of the National Archives* (Summer 1981, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 101-114).

If the Pearl Harbor story is still conducted on two levels, depending on the intelligence, general knowledge, sophistication and experience of the

Gerald Fleming's Distortions

How a Major Holocaust Historian Manipulates Facts

Gerald Fleming is an internationally prominent Holocaust historian who teaches history at the University of Surrey in England. In his widely-discussed 1984 book, *Hitler and the Final Solution*, he attempted to refute British historian David Irving's provocative contention that no documentary evidence exists to show that Hitler ordered the extermination of Europe's Jews, or even that he knew about any such policy or program.

Fleming's book received lavish media praise, although there were a few words of criticism. For example, a generally laudatory review in the *New York Times* (Dec. 28, 1984) nevertheless noted that Fleming's "sometimes flamboyant writing and the structure of his book as a kind of thriller will annoy some historians."

More to the point, the German-born English-Jewish historian failed conclusively to refute Irving's thesis. The best that Fleming could cite was something called the "Franke-Gricksch 'Resettlement Action Report'." However, in a detailed analysis published in the Fall 1991 *Journal of Historical Review* (pp. 261-279), Canadian scholar Brian A. Renk established that this document, which has no date or signature, contains demonstrable absurdities. He concluded that it is a postwar fabrication.

In 1993 newspapers around the world announced that Fleming had discovered in the Soviet archives proof of execution gas chambers at Auschwitz. In addition to articles about his discovery, Fleming himself reported on his findings in several articles. (See, for example, his piece, headlined "Engineers of Death," in the *New York Times*, July 18, 1993.) In fact, he was able only to cite portions of transcripts of *postwar* Soviet military interrogations of four German engineers.

In 1994 Fleming collaborated with architect Robert Jan van Pelt on a documentary film, "Blueprints of Genocide," which was broadcast in Britain on the BBC "Horizon" program, May 9, 1994, and in the United States on the NPR "Nova" program, February 7, 1995. During a dramatic high point of the broadcast, van Pelt is shown holding a document while stating: "It says very clearly, 'You will be able to kill and you will be able to burn simultaneously in this building [Crematory II].'"

This document, which is not shown to viewers, is actually a simple memorandum of January 29, 1942, not even marked "Secret," about ... electricity supply. It mentions "burning [cremation] with simultaneous special treatment" ("*Verbrennung mit*

gleichzeitiger Sonderbehandlung"). Fleming deceitfully reversed the word order, and rendered "*Sonderbehandlung*" as "kill."

Commenting on this misrepresentation, Robert Faurisson has written that "the word '*Sonderbehandlung*' could mean, by its place in the phrase, anything *except* to kill because this 'special treatment' was *simultaneous* with burning." Moreover, as Faurisson further noted, it is obvious that if Fleming, or anyone, had actually discovered a wartime German document that clearly says what Holocaust historians have been seeking for decades, it would be publicized everywhere as a discovery of the greatest historical importance. (See: R. Faurisson, "A KGB Novelist: Gerald Fleming," *Adelaide Institute online newsletter* [Australia], Dec. 1996, pp. 23-25.)

Over the years, Fleming has maintained correspondence with revisionist researchers in different countries. For example, the full text of his handwritten letter of April 3, 1991, to the editor of the *Journal of Historical Review* was published in the Fall 1991 issue (pp. 375-378), along with a response by Mark Weber. More recently, Fleming wrote a handwritten letter of April 25, 1996, to Institute Director Weber. These two letters show how Fleming deals with facts and historical evidence.

Here is the complete text of Fleming's April 1996 letter, along with Weber's reply of July 26, 1996 (to which Fleming did not respond).

Gerald Fleming
University of Surrey
re: The Rudolf Report / "Cromwell Press" 1993
Author: Germar Scheerer (formerly Rudolf)
'Strafsache gegen Volksverhetzung u.a. /
Generalstaatsanwaltschaft Stuttgart / 4. 4. 96'
25 / IV / 96

Dear Sir,

I note your Institute is still distributing the 'Rudolf Report,' which refers to some of my research in foreign archives on page 107-108. In view of the fact that the information given is utter nonsense, and since the sentence passed on the author of this report by the Landgericht Stuttgart on the 23 June 1995 has been confirmed by the Federal German Supreme Court, I am writing to you to let you know, - since you may well be unaware of this fact, - that the printer of this report, who is known to the authorities, gave a written formal undertaking at the beginning of March 1994, in which he undertook not to print this report again and to

destroy any copies at that time still on his premises.

It is indeed in the printer's interest that the 'Rudolf Report,' which has led to a fourteen months' prison sentence against its author, and the printing and distribution of which is an actionable offence, should not be available in any shape or form to potential readers, since it could leave the printer and distributor open to charges.

Yours sincerely,
Gerald Fleming

INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW

P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659

Fri., 26 July 1996

Gerald Fleming
University of Surrey
Dept. of Linguistic
and International Studies
Guildford, Surrey GU2 5XH
England - U.K.

Dear Dr. Fleming,

Thank you for your handwritten letter of 25 April, in which you advise us not to distribute The Rudolf Report. Please pardon this tardy response.

After receiving your letter, we contacted Anthony Hancock, director of Wilson Press (The Print Factory), the English publisher of the Report. He gave us a different view of the facts. What happened, according to Hancock, is this:

Degussa, a German chemical corporation, had been concerned because the original edition of The Rudolf Report contained a single-line acknowledgment by the author expressing thanks to "Degussa AG for providing information material about Prussian Blue (trade name Vossen-Blau)." Fearful of being associated, even so tenuously, with this publication, Degussa complained to the English publisher. In a letter to Hancock, the London law firm representing Degussa stated that the Report's contents are illegal in Germany, and that the author's passing mention of the company in the first edition "has had serious adverse consequences for Degussa's business, not only in Germany but also in the United States and Israel."

On March 30, 1994, Hancock and Degussa concluded a written agreement, a copy of which Hancock sent to us. In return for a pledge by Degussa that it *would not* bring legal proceedings against him, Hancock agreed to refrain from mentioning Degussa in any future editions of the Report, and to destroy all existing copies of the Report with the word "Degussa."

Contrary to what you suggested to me, Hancock did not agree to halt all publication of The Rudolf Report.

Your objections to the Report might be more convincing if Germar Rudolf were the only independent investigator to conclude that the supposed gas cham-

ber facilities in Auschwitz and Birkenau were not used, and could not have been used, for killing prisoners as alleged. As you must know, at the time he wrote it, Rudolf was a certified chemist working at the renowned Max Planck research center, as well as a doctoral candidate at the University of Stuttgart. He wrote his detailed Report on the basis of an on-site investigation, chemical analysis of samples, and meticulous research.

Rudolf reached essentially the same conclusion as had American gas chamber specialist Fred Leuchter in his 1988 forensic investigation of the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz and Birkenau. You may also be aware that as a result of Leuchter's findings, the Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow conducted a partial investigation, and that its forensic analysis, given in a confidential September 1990 report, corroborated Leuchter's findings. (This report was published in the Summer 1991 Journal of Historical Review). Moreover, Austrian engineer Walter Lüftl explicitly endorsed Leuchter's findings in a detailed March 1992 report (published in the Winter 1992-93 Journal), and German engineer Wolfgang Schuster and American research chemist William Lindsey reached conclusions similar to those of Leuchter and Rudolf.

If these researchers are wrong, it should not be difficult to demonstrate their error. Everyone should welcome an impartial, thorough forensic examination of all the evidence by an international team of independent scholars, engineers and historians. As it is, courageous skeptics are routinely subjected to threats, smears, physical violence, arrest and legal persecution. In Germany, France, Austria, Israel and a few other countries, it is a crime to dispute the official version of Holocaust history. Leuchter's career has been destroyed, and Rudolf has been sentenced to 14 months imprisonment.

The vicious nature of the campaign against those who call into question aspects of the Holocaust extermination story implicitly supports the merit of their findings. What kind truth is it that must be defended with threats of arrest, fines and imprisonment?

I am disappointed that you seek to bolster your position by citing the legal persecution of researchers and historians who have reached conclusions at odds with the official Holocaust story. Indeed, you audaciously seek to enlist our cooperation in suppressing Rudolf's Report, citing a transparently false concern for the best interests of the printer and distributor. As a scholar, your duty should be to join with us in protesting against this outrageous campaign against free speech and open scholarly inquiry, and to defend victims such as Germar Rudolf.

Sincerely,
s / Mark Weber
Director

Attention! Fascism in the Furniture Store!

JAROSLAW ZADENCKI

One of the great social-cultural plagues of our time is the universally spread opportunism of the educated classes known as *Political Correctness*. It proclaims itself a brave and uncompromising defender of freedom of speech, and an equally fervent enemy of all forms of censorship. While this would be entirely admirable, in reality this freedom is limited to itself.

While one is free to promulgate an unrestricted freedom of expression everywhere, problems arise when it comes to basic, day-to-day tolerance for dissenting views. These same people who claim to so cherish freedom see fit to castigate any utterance not in accord with their own interpretation of freedom.

These PC arbiters have authority to determine what is true and what is false, what is good and what is evil, what is just and what is not. And, as is so often the case, it just happens that their ideological fanaticism splendidly coincides with their secular self-interest.

It's not much of an exaggeration to say that this new priestly class, heavy with privileges but lacking accountability, is one of our greatest contemporary problems, and that bringing to an end its monopoly on identifying and framing issues is one of the most pressing political-intellectual challenges of our time.

For whoever has a monopoly in determining who is an enemy and who is a friend — and especially who does so in a ruthless, aggressive, and fanatic manner — effectively has a monopoly on power. Thus, the "Political Correctness" issue is, in the fullest meaning of the word, a political one.

In the linguistic arsenal of its adherents, you will find words or terms that not only confuse and confound reality, but also morally disarm adversaries. These terms are not meant to describe reality as it is. Instead, their basic purpose is to produce a certain intellectual and emotional aura, generate an

atmosphere of horror, conjure up a ever-lurking threat and danger, and create an atmosphere of uncertainty and existential fear. Europeans are being scared by mighty and influential persons whose power is based exclusively on socio-technical propaganda manipulation of the masses.

People are encouraged to fear things that are neither specific nor tangible, but simply to be frightened in general — metaphysically, so to speak — and to be fearful not merely of others, but even of themselves.

For the "enlightened" and "liberated" European, Political Correctness has gradually come to dictate an imperative duty: to be permanently on the alert for enemies and saboteurs, as well as to overcome one's own superstitions.

The basic method employed in this ultimate of causes is the simple, propagandistic formula of "guilt by association."

One might assume that after the collapse of the Communist regimes in Europe, people in both the East and the West would finally breathe freely. With the end of the nightmare, it's time for some cheerfulness and optimism.

Not so. The good citizen of Europe discovers with a shock while reading newspapers, watching TV, and listening to the radio that, according to society's opinion-molding circles, the enemy has not only not vanished, he is fully awake, ever ready to threaten our democratic, civil liberties.

But just who is this horrible monster? Well, he's not hard to find because he is identified by many different and familiar labels. He appears in the guise of: populism, nationalism, racism, anti-Semitism, right-wing extremism, religious fundamentalism, neo-Nazism, and zoological anti-Communism — in short, *fascism*.

So, these days fascism is again on everybody's lips. Revived, it once again enjoys a dazzling career. "Fascism will never vanish," thunders the international mass media. It's nothing less, we learn, than the danger we had been told was annihilated half a century ago. The fascism we smashed to bits during the Second World War, and which is supposed to have rotted away over the past several decades, today poses the greatest and most imminent danger to all the nations and people of Europe. And today,

Jaroslav Zadencki holds a degree in philosophy from the University of Krakow. He has been a contributor to several Polish periodicals. This essay, a translation and adaptation from the original Polish, first appeared in issue No. 1(30), 1997, of the journal *Stanczyk*, ul. St. Pietaka 9, 51-140 Wroclaw, Poland.

we are constantly told, combatting fascism is not only an ever more urgent necessity, but also the moral duty of all people of good will.

As the memory of Communism recedes ever further into the past, the greater grows the anti-fascist hysteria. People take to the streets to demonstrate their hatred against those who hate. Intellectuals gather to express their intolerance of intolerance. Politicians call for decisive new laws to combat the danger. Lawyers vie with each other in finding new ways to lock up the enemies of an open society. The moral authorities proclaim, *urbi et orbi*: no freedom for the enemies of freedom!

As it turns out, the enemy is *everywhere* — he lurks around every corner, and behind every bush. He may take a shape of an 80-year-old neighbor or a close friend. And new reports keep arriving: in France, Jean-Marie Le Pen and his followers murder Arabs and overturn Jewish grave stones. In reunited Germany, Franz Schönhuber revives the Waffen SS, while in Italy Gianfranco Fini uses brute force to keep the trains running punctually. Saddam Hussein plants bombs in New York City, and in Russia Vladimir Zhirinovskiy threatens to soak his feet in the Indian Ocean. In Austria Jörg Haider engages in ethnic cleansing, while from Iran the Ayatollah Khomeini (although reportedly dead) is still hunting the writer Salman Rushdie. In the United States Pat Buchanan protects criminal Hitlerites, and in Poland Fr. Rydzyk (a traditionalist radio priest, something like Fr. Coughlin) is shaving the heads of libertine parliamentary deputies. In France the philosopher Roger Garaudy insults the memory of millions of victims of racist genocide, and in Sweden Count Wachtmeister sets fire to mosques. Look out! *Fascism!*

The decent citizen — our Kowalski, Schmidt, Dubois or Svenson — is shocked and terrified. Phantoms of the past rise from their graves to humiliate, torture and murder. Something must be done, and immediately. Demonstrate, protest, act to repel the forces of evil and violence! Don't wait a minute, tomorrow may be too late.

Our decent European is just about to grab a club from his basement, along with a banner proclaiming "Long live freedom!", on his way to a street protest to express his boundless contempt for people who hold other people in contempt, when all of a sudden — as if struck by lightning — he comes to his senses.

He looks around furtively, observing with suspicion. He talks with his family and friends, his neighbors and colleagues, and even strangers in the coffee shop and bar, and ... what?

Nothing. He can't locate a real fascist. Well, he has heard of an eccentric poet in Warsaw, Brzóska-Brzoskiewicz, who goes around in a Gestapo uniform, and some months ago he saw a young fellow

running in the street wearing tall leather boots and a strange leather jacket, but, frankly, he was rather more frightened by the rowdy and disheveled fellows who were chasing after him.

And so, our decent German, Frenchman, Swede or Pole lightheartedly turns his back on the world of Orwellian language, surrealism, hysteria and uproar, happy to return to reality. He once again enjoys nature, and he treats stupidity with indulgence and humor. He reads only periodicals of small circulation, while on TV he watches only soccer games. He enjoys art and music, but preferably from before 1918.

And he no longer confuses idealism with fanaticism or fundamentalism, nor a radical critique of the ruling class with populism, national pride with right-wing extremism, a strict immigration policy with racism, or controversial historical research with incitement against minority nationalities.

Above all, he is no longer afraid of "fascism," because he realizes that nowadays this notion is no longer used to describe a (possibly) dangerous ideological phenomenon, but instead is used, with rather obvious intent, to morally discredit political adversaries.

In late 1995 a sensational news item appeared in newspapers around the world. The Anti-Defamation League, based in New York, demanded \$200,000 restitution, an apology, and public repentance from IKEA, the Swedish-based international furniture chain store. According to the ADL, IKEA had some dangerous (but not clearly specified) fascist ties in the past. The ADL also threatened that if IKEA failed to accept its demands, it would proclaim a boycott of IKEA across the United States, where the company has many stores.

People wondered: what motivated this organization to take such high-profile action against a furniture company? Had the IKEA company employed slave labor or supported the German armaments industry during the last war? Not at all. As it turns out, the reason for this action by the American defenders of dignity and honor is this: during the late 1940s and early 50s, the founder and owner of the IKEA, Swedish entrepreneur Ingvar Kamprad, while he was a student in Malmö, Sweden, attended lectures of Per Engdahl, the leader of a minuscule rightist party, "The New Swedish Movement," which before the war did not hide its fascist sympathies. At that time Kamprad also wrote two letters to Engdahl, in which he expressed his interest in corporativism and admiration for Engdahl's intellect. Forty-five years later, these letters found their way into the hands of reporters, who did not hesitate to use them accordingly. And that's what the entire IKEA "fascism" scandal amounted to.

In December 1995, Ingvar Kamprad publicly repented for the sins of his youth, and his company paid the money demanded by the Anti-Defamation League. So, 50 years after the end of the Second World War, fascism suffered yet another stunning defeat — this time not on the battle field but in a furniture store.

Wartime Bombings of Neutral Switzerland

JOACHIM HOFFMANN

For some time now it has become common to beat up on prototypically democratic Switzerland in a sometimes unfriendly and occasionally almost hateful way. Apparently this is being done for political motives.

To this end, certain regrettable events during the Second World War are strongly emphasized, without in all fairness mentioning the difficult circumstances under which the Swiss Confederation had to maintain its neutrality and sovereignty toward not only the Axis powers, and especially Germany, but also toward the western Allies.

Above all the United States, which is in the forefront of the accusatory critics, should permit itself to be reminded of the great extent to which, for years, it violated Swiss neutrality. From 1943 onwards American war planes flew at will over the neutral country, sometimes in flight formations, in attacks on targets in the German Reich.

Time and again they also carried out offensive operations against Swiss territory. Thus, on April 1, 1944, Schaffhausen was the victim of an intense American air attack, with considerable human losses and heavy destruction of property. Passenger and freight rail cars, viaducts and train stations were also repeatedly bombed or fired upon, such as in Chiasso and Basel, resulting in numerous fatalities and extensive material damage. On February 22, 1945, alone 18 Swiss lost their lives, and 50 were wounded, some severely, in American bombing attacks and air raids on the northern part of the country.

In the aftermath of the American air attacks on Basel and Zürich on March 5, 1945, which once


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again caused considerable human losses and material damage, the government in Washington was notified in a strongly worded protest of the routine flouting of Swiss neutrality, and of the steadily increasing number of border violations, and that such bombings were intolerable. The situation had become so tense that Washington directed the supreme commander of the United States Army Air Force in Europe, General Spaatz, and his chief of staff, to go to Bern [the Swiss capital] in person to apologize and promise reform.

Among the various US airplanes that came down on Swiss territory were no fewer than 160 large four-motor B-17 "flying fortress" bombers and B-24 "Liberators," either because the crews wanted to avoid being taken prisoner in Germany, or were deserters who simply wanted to get out of military service, or because they were forced to land or were shot down by Swiss flyers or air defense forces.

War planes of other countries also repeatedly carried out offensive operations against Switzerland, including, on a large scale, by the British Royal Air Force, and also, not so seriously but still considerable, by the German Luftwaffe, and even on occasion by French planes.

However, none of the nations at war so massively and continuously challenged Swiss neutrality, and caused such great loss of life and destruction of property, as the bombers and fighter planes of the United States air force.



The image shows the cover of the March-April 1995 issue of Marco Polo Magazine. It features a black and white portrait of a man, likely Dr. Nishioka, with the word "CENSORED" written in large, bold, diagonal letters across the center. The magazine title "MARCO POLO" is visible at the top, and Japanese text is present below the portrait.

'Holocaust Pressure Groups Shut Down Japan's *Marco Polo* Magazine,' a 30-page IHR Special Report, is available from the Institute for \$20.

This important supplement to the feature article in the March-April 1995 *Journal* includes a translation of Dr. Nishioka's headline-making *Marco Polo* article, facsimile copies of numerous reports from American and Japanese English-language newspapers on the Marco Polo furor, and more.

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Historians Expose Myths of Israel's Birth

Revisionist Perspectives on Zionist History

RACHELLE MARSHALL

Every country has its myths — stories that may have no basis in fact but nevertheless serve as vital sources of national unity and strength. What sets the state of Israel apart is that its myths have become accepted as history, not only in Israel, but in *much of* the rest of the world as well. Thanks to the astuteness of Israel's first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, and his successors, the conventional view today is that the modern state of Israel was the creation of a heroic and beleaguered people who fled persecution in Europe and, rejected everywhere else, sought refuge in the land that had been historically theirs.

There they were attacked, the mythology relates, first by local terrorists jealous of their success in making the desert bloom, and then by the powerful armies of surrounding Arab states. Against overwhelming odds, outnumbered Jewish soldiers fought off an enemy bent on their annihilation, and the Jewish people survived to build a thriving democracy on what had been an unpopulated wasteland. Ever since, the legend concludes, the tiny nation has been under siege by 100 million Arabs dedicated to its destruction.

Because the myth of Israel's birth was so closely linked to the horrors of the Holocaust, to question its truth was for years as unthinkable as doubting the truth of the Holocaust itself. But today a new breed of historians is challenging much of that myth. Palestinian and other Arab scholars, Western Middle East specialists, and non-Zionist Jews such as Elmer Berger, Alfred Lilienthal, and Norman Finkelstein have already published well-documented refutations of the official version of Israel's history. The current debunking process, however, is being carried out for the first time by Israeli Jews — a younger generation of historians with impeccable credentials as Zionists, patriotic Israelis and scholars.

Much of their research was made possible by the

opening in 1978 of files from the British Public Record and the Israeli State Archives that had been kept closed for 30 years. The information contained in these files, combined with the research of Palestinian historians, has enabled Israeli scholars to present a new perspective on the origins of a conflict that after 60 years shows no signs of abating. A significant aspect of their work is that it reveals the remarkable consistency of Israeli policy throughout those years and the use by successive Israeli leaders of the same strategies and deceptions to achieve their goals.

Benny Morris was among the first of the younger Israeli scholars to receive widespread notice when he refuted Ben Gurion's long-accepted assertion that the Palestinian refugees of 1947-48 left Palestine at the instruction of Arab leaders. According to Ben-Gurion, "they did so under the assumption that the invasion of Arab armies at the expiration of the mandate will destroy the Jewish state and push all the Jews into the sea, dead or alive." In *The Birth of the Palestine Refugee Problem*, published in 1988, Morris concluded that Arab leaders had not urged the local population to leave but that the exodus was mainly the result of attacks by the official Jewish army, the Haganah, and the Irgun, a militia headed by Menachem Begin that had carried out assassinations and bombings against both the British and the Palestinians during the British mandate.

Morris also discounted the claim that the 1950s were years of Arab terrorism against Israel. In many cases, he found, the "terrorists" were simply dispossessed Palestinian farmers who had sneaked back across the border in an attempt to harvest some of their crops. Morris and other Israeli historians believe that Israel's military raids during those years were the main cause of continued violence and hostility.

'Plan D'

Although Morris does not believe it was official Jewish policy to carry out massacres and other atrocities against Palestinians in the process of achieving statehood, other scholars cite the leadership's Plan Dalet, or Plan D, as evidence that the Jews were determined to expel the Palestinians from as much territory as possible and by whatever

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means necessary. A recent book by Ilan Pappé, associate professor of Middle East history at the University of Haifa, emphasizes the importance of Plan D in the creation of Israel. In *The Making of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1947-51*, Pappé writes that the Jewish army formally adopted the plan in early 1948 after Arabs protested a United Nations partition proposal that allocated to the Palestinians only 38 percent of mandatory Palestine although they made up more than 65 percent of the population.

Under Plan D, once the British authorities were out of the way, Jewish fighters would treat all of Palestine as a no-man's land and seize any Arab village or town from which an attack on Jews was launched. But officials of the Jewish Agency's Land Department, which was headed by a close ally of Ben-Gurion, chose to ignore the difference between friendly and hostile villages and encouraged local commanders to evacuate Arabs wherever there was fertile land. Jewish forces also attacked villages that lay along strategic routes, such as Deir Yassin, where on April 9, 1948, the Irgun slaughtered more than 250 men, women, and children. After Deir Yassin, frightened Palestinians fled in even greater numbers. From April 1, 1948, to the end of the war, Pappé writes, "Jewish operations were guided by the desire to occupy the greatest possible portion of Palestine."

Early 'Facts on the Ground'

Plan D was the first concerted attempt by the Israelis to preempt future negotiations by using force to create "facts on the ground." It is a strategy that Israel has pursued to this day, when almost every week brings the announcement of additional confiscation of Palestinian land. Between 1947 and 1951, Israel's drive to expand resulted in the replacement of the Palestinian majority by Jewish immigrants from all over the world, the obliteration of more than 400 Palestinian villages, and the permanent homelessness and impoverishment of nearly a million people. What Israelis call "an exchange of populations" was for the Palestinians a calamity.

Israel's apologists blame the Palestinians' misfortune on their opposition to partition, and especially to a Jewish state. If the Arabs chose to fight rather than share, then Israel would also fight — and take enough territory to insure its future security. But Pappé describes a more complex situation, in which blame is shared several ways.

First, US determination to control deliberations on Palestine resulted in the appointment to the UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) of "inexperienced members From all parts of the world who had very little prior knowledge, if any, of the regional situation." Consequently, Pappé goes on,

"they proposed a Jewish state where half the population would be Arab." Like the rest of the world, members of UNSCOP were strongly influenced by their sympathy for the victims of the Holocaust, whose plight they had witnessed during a tour of Europe's displaced persons camps. In 1947 when the US refused to admit a substantial number of Jewish DPs, a Jewish state seemed the only solution.

Pappé blames the Arab leadership for diplomatic and political incompetence. While the Jews appeared willing to compromise, members of the Arab Higher Committee, representing the Palestinians, refused even to meet with UNSCOP. They insisted on an Arab state in all of Palestine, with no Jewish political participation or further immigration. Unlike the Jews, who by 1948 had an infrastructure already in place, the Arab leaders made no plans for transition to statehood. In fact, according to Pappé, by late 1947 only one member of the Arab Higher Committee was in Palestine. The others had fled at the prospect of fighting.

The scattered, though sometimes punishing, attacks on Jewish settlements by Palestinian irregulars provided the excuse for the Jewish army to proceed with what Pappé calls the "uprooting, expulsion, and pauperization of the Palestinians, with the clear purpose of taking firm control over Western Palestine." Israel's expansion into territory designated for the Palestinians precipitated the Arab invasion of May 1948. Contrary to myth, that invasion never threatened Israel's survival. Each side had roughly the same number of troops to begin with, but Israel's army was far better trained and equipped. Pappé writes that the weak and disunited Arab leaders had launched the invasion reluctantly, forced to act by popular pressure instigated largely by their political opponents. By July 1948 the Arab armies totaled 46,800; Israel's army was twice as large.

A chief obstacle to the Arab cause was the fact that King Abdullah of Jordan was playing a double game. While posing to the Arab world as an anti-Zionist, he was at the same time secretly conspiring with Jewish leaders to divide up Palestine. In November 1947 Abdullah met with Jewish Agency representative Golda Meir and agreed not to attack Israel in return for Israel's acquiescence to Transjordan's annexation of the West Bank. Abdullah's crack Arab Legion did fight the Jewish army in Jerusalem, but elsewhere he kept to the agreement. The remaining Arab armies from Egypt, Syria, and Iraq were ultimately no match for Israeli forces, so that by 1949 Israel occupied all of mandatory Palestine except for East Jerusalem and the West Bank, which were taken over by Transjordan.

By razing Palestinian villages to the ground in

advance of boundary negotiations, Jewish leaders planned to cement the future state's hold on captured Palestinian territory and make it impossible for the inhabitants to return. Ben-Gurion's other strategy was to enter peace talks with the determination not to yield on any important issue — an Israeli approach to negotiations that since has become familiar.

The last chance for a negotiated peace between the two sides was the Lausanne Conference, which opened in April 1949 and fizzled to a close the following September — leaving Israel in full possession of the territory it had captured and the Palestinians in permanent exile. Hopes rose briefly at the beginning, when both sides agreed to a two-part protocol, calling for recognition of the UN partition plan as a basis for negotiations, and for acceptance of the right of Palestinian refugees to return. Pappé points out that in accepting partition, the Arabs in effect recognized the state of Israel. But Ben-Gurion had no intention of yielding any territory or allowing the Palestinians to return. Israel's application for membership in the UN was scheduled to be voted on in May and the State Department had hinted there might be difficulties if Israel did not sign. Israel did sign, but shortly after the UN vote, the Israeli delegation in Lausanne reneged on the agreement by refusing to discuss the refugee question until a number of other issues had been resolved, and by demanding that the Arab leaders formally recognize Israel. The US representative at Lausanne, Mark Etheridge, was convinced that Israel had signed the protocol solely to gain admission to the United Nations. More than 40 years later Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir adopted the same tactic when he agreed in Madrid to enter Middle East peace talks while secretly intending, as he later admitted, to drag them out indefinitely.

Pappé describes the Arab delegates at Lausanne as disunited and inconsistent, but despite the persistent myth that they wanted only to push Israel into the sea, he concludes that "there were indeed Arab leaders who sought peace with Israel." The Arabs had come to Lausanne with two objectives, reviving the partition resolution and securing repatriation of the refugees, but by the summer of 1949 Israel had greater priorities than peace. When Syria's military ruler Husni Zaim proposed that he and Ben-Gurion meet personally to discuss a possible peace treaty, Ben-Gurion rejected the offer despite the advice of his foreign minister, Moshe Sharrett. Zaim was shortly afterward overthrown. When Sharrett suggested that Israel accept the return of as few as 75,000 Palestinians, Ben-Gurion refused even that concession.

The failure of the Lausanne Conference left Israel in possession of the Negev as well as the Gali-

lee, with the rest of the world's tacit acceptance. Although members of the Truman administration viewed Israel's actions during 1947-48 as obstructive of long-term peace in the region, the US exerted only minimal pressure on the new Jewish state. The reason has since become familiar: in 1948 Truman was in a close election race with Thomas E. Dewey of New York and he desperately needed support from the traditionally Democratic Jewish community. When Dewey accused Truman of undermining Israel's security by supporting a peace plan by UN mediator Count Folke Bernadotte that would have given the Galilee to Israel and the Negev to the Palestinians, Truman withdrew his endorsement of the plan and never again wavered in his support for Israel.

Since then the only US president who has dared to challenge Israel was Dwight D. Eisenhower, who used the threat of economic sanctions to force Israel back from its invasion of the Sinai in 1956. In 1990 George Bush opposed a US guarantee of \$10 billion in loans to Israel without a promise that Israel would build no more settlements in the occupied territories, but he gave in when Yitzhak Rabin became prime minister.

During the 1996 American presidential election campaign, candidates of both parties behaved as if they were running for office in Israel: President Clinton ordered a US veto of an otherwise unanimous UN Security Council resolution condemning Israel's seizure of 134 acres of Arab-owned land; Senator Bob Dole, who in 1990 opposed a Senate resolution declaring Jerusalem the capital of Israel, in May 1995 introduced a bill to move the US embassy to Jerusalem.

The Republican majority in Congress voted to slash funds for disabled children and reduce foreign aid by 15 percent, but preserved every penny of US aid to Israel. There was not a murmur from Washington as the Israeli government talked of peace while swallowing up more and more Palestinian land in violation of international law as well as the Oslo Agreement.

In addition to highlighting the continuity of Israeli policy and tactics over nearly 50 years, Pappé's book also provides insight into why the Palestinian cause failed for so long. At every stage of the conflict, between 1947 and 1951, the Palestinians relied on outsiders for help. But then as now, at each crucial point those presumed allies — whether the Arab leadership, the US, or the UN — had more urgent priorities. The success of the intifada in forcing the Israelis into at least a semblance of negotiations is evidence of how effective Palestinian action can be.

More convincing evidence came on May 22, 1995, when the five Arab members of the Knesset were

able to halt Israel's latest land grab in Jerusalem. By shrewdly threatening Rabin with a no-confidence vote they knew the right-wing Likud would support, they forced him to suspend the seizure. Afterward one of the Arab members, Mohammed Baraka, exulted: "What the Security Council could not succeed in doing, and what the Arab League could not do, we did!" Supporters of a long-overdue peace in the Middle East can only hope Baraka's statement is a portent of the future, and that the Palestinians, while welcoming outside help, ultimately will rely on no one but themselves.

Hundreds Check Out IHR Material Daily

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Through his personal Internet web site, *Journal* associate editor Greg Raven makes available an impressive selection of material from the Institute for Historical Review, including dozens of IHR *Journal* articles and reviews.

An independent service that impartially reviews and rates web sites has given the site a positive rating. In the summer of 1996, Gale Research posted on the "Cyberhound" web site a rating for Raven's site of three stars (out of a possible four). It also praised the site for its "strong content that has been endorsed by other publications."

The laudatory rating predictably prompted complaints. Laura B. Cohen, a network services librarian at the University of Albany (New York), voiced the most heated objections, calling the IHR's *Journal* "a notoriously racist publication." In response to such protests, Gale Research lowered its rating of Raven's site, and revised its description to include the warning: "The authoritativeness of the [IHR] journal has been widely denounced."

Global interest in Raven's web site remains strong. Between August 1 and November 13, 1997, an average of 700 persons in countries around the world visited Raven's site every day — with a total of 73,422 visits or "hits" during this period. In recent weeks the site has been receiving as many as 3,000 visits per day.

During this 105-day period, visitors to the site retrieved or transferred more than a million kilobytes of information altogether. On recent peak days, visitors have been retrieving some 30 megabytes of revisionist information daily, or the equivalent of some 21 million pages of double-spaced

typewritten text.

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For Our Posterity

"Our Fathers in a wondrous age,
Ere yet the Earth was small,
Ensured to us an heritage,
And doubted not at all
That we, the children of their heart,
Which then did beat so high,
In later times should play like part
For our posterity.

....

"Then, fretful, murmur not they gave
So great a charge to keep,
Nor dream that awestruck Time shall save
Their labor while we sleep.
Dear-bought and clear, a thousand year
Our fathers' title runs.
Make we likewise their sacrifice,
Defrauding not our sons."

— Rudyard Kipling, "The Heritage," 1905.

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Lyndon Johnson Was First to Align US Policy With Israel's

DONALD NEFF

President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas on November 22, 1963. While a traumatized nation grieved for its youngest president, he was succeeded by Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, who was to become the most pro-Israel president up to that time. A sea change was about to take place in America's relations with Israel.

Johnson was quick to declare his support for the Jewish state. Shortly after being sworn in as president, Johnson reportedly remarked to an Israeli diplomat: "You have lost a very great friend, but you have found a better one." Commented Isaiah L. Kenen, one of the most effective lobbyists for Israel in Washington: "... I would say that everything he did as president supported that statement."¹

Up to Johnson's presidency, no administration had been as completely pro-Israel and anti-Arab as his. Harry S Truman, while remembered as a warm friend of Israel, was more interested in his own election than Israel's fate. After winning office on his own in 1948 with the support of the Jewish vote, he seemed to lose interest in the Jewish state.² Dwight D. Eisenhower was distinctly cool toward Israel, seeing it as a major irritant in America's relations with the Arab world and US access to oil. There were no powerful partisans of Israel in his administration, and his secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, was a frequent critic of Israel.

Kennedy was considerably warmer toward the Jewish state and became the first president to begin providing major weapons to it, breaking an embargo in place since 1947.³ Yet he valued the US position in the Arab world, particularly with Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser, and as a result maintained a fairly even-handed policy despite having a number of pro-Israel officials in his administration.

All this changed dramatically under Johnson. Not only was he personally a strong supporter of the Jewish state but he had a number of high officials, advisers and friends who shared his view. These included officials within the administration such as McGeorge Bundy, Clark Clifford, Arthur Goldberg, Harry McPherson, John Roche, the Rostow broth-

ers, Walt and Eugene, and Ben Wattenberg. These officials occupied such high offices as the ambassador to the United Nations, the head of the National Security Council, and the number two post at the State Department. They were assiduous in putting forward Israel's interests in such memoranda as "What We Have Done for Israel"⁴ and "New Things We Might Do in Israel"⁵ and "How We Have Helped Israel."⁶

The president was repeatedly urged by Israel's supporters to embrace Israeli policy, give the Jewish state increased aid, and distance America from the Arab world. So pervasive was the influence of Israel's supporters during Johnson's tenure that CIA Director Richard Helms believed there was no important US secret affecting Israel that the Israeli government did not know about in this period.⁷

So closely allied were US and Israeli interests in the mind of "Mac" Bundy, the special coordinator of Middle East policy during the 1967 war, that he once sought to buttress a recommendation to Johnson by remarking: "This is good LBJ doctrine and good Israeli doctrine, and therefore a good doctrine to get out in public."⁸ When initial war reports showed Israel making dramatic gains and several officials in the State Department Operations Room outwardly showed satisfaction, Undersecretary of State Gene Rostow turned to them with a broad smile on his face and said ironically: "Gentlemen, gentlemen, do not forget we are neutral in word, thought and deed."⁹ In the State Department's summary of the start of the war, Rostow's brother, Walt, the national security adviser, wrote on a covering letter to Johnson: "Herewith the account, with a map, of the first day's turkey shoot."¹⁰

Beyond the administration's supporters of Israel, one of Johnson's closest informal advisers was Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas, another warm friend of Israel's. Two of Johnson's closest outside advisers were Abraham Feinberg and Arthur B. Krim, both strong supporters of Israel. Feinberg was president of the American Bank & Trust Company of New York and the man whose "activities started a process of systematic fund-raising for politics [in the late 1940s] that has made Jews the most conspicuous fund-raisers and contributors to the Democratic Party," according to a study by Stephen D. Isaacs, *Jews and American Politics*. Johnson routinely consulted Feinberg on Middle East policy.

Vocal Supporters of Israel

Feinberg was a vocal supporter of increased aid to Israel. Although an American, Feinberg at various times owned the Coca-Cola franchise in Israel and was a part-owner of the Jerusalem Hilton Hotel. When his bank fell into trouble in the 1970s and two of its officers were convicted of misappro-

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prating funds, the Israeli Bank Leumi Company, in a generous act of reverse aid, purchased Feinberg's American Bank & Trust Company.¹¹

Arthur Krim was president of United Artists Corporation of Hollywood, a New York attorney and another major Democratic fund-raiser. He served as chairman of the Democratic National Party Finance Committee and chairman of the President's Club of New York, the most potent source of Johnson's campaign funds. Krim was married to a physician, Mathilde, who in her youth had briefly served as an agent for the Irgun, the Jewish terrorist group led by Menachem Begin.

The Krims were so close to Johnson that they built a vacation house near his Texas ranch to be close to him on long weekends and were regular guests at the White House. Mathilde Krim stayed at the White House during much of the 1967 war and was a regular caller at the Israeli Embassy,

passing reports and gossip back and forth. The Krims, like other Johnson friends, did not hesitate to advise the president on Middle East policy.¹²

How influential the Krims were in forming Johnson's Middle East policy was hinted at by notes in the president's daily diary for June 17, 1967. The notes reported that at a dinner with the Krims and others at Camp David, Johnson openly discussed a speech he was working on that was to establish the nation's Middle East policy for the years ahead. According to the notes, Johnson read from various drafts of the speech around the dinner table, "inserting additions and making changes, also accepting comments and suggestions from all at the table." Thus two passionate partisans of Israel, the Krims, helped Johnson refine what was later called the "five great principles of peace," the pillars of US policy in the Middle East for the next two decades.

After Johnson delivered the speech on June 19, he received a report of an enthusiastic phone call from Abe Feinberg saying that the Jewish community was delighted with the speech. "Mr. Feinberg said he had visited with Israelis and Jewish leaders all over the country and they are high in their appreciation."¹³

Under Johnson, aid to Israel increased and the old arms embargo was completely shattered, portending the massive transfer of treasure, technology and weapons that began in the next administration of Richard M. Nixon. That, of course, was only the beginning of the age of total support of Israel, which has reached new heights under Bill Clinton.

Notes

1. Merle Miller, *Lyndon: An Oral History* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1980), p. 477. This was generally the assessment in Israel as well; see Stephen Green, *Taking Sides: America's Secret Relations with a Mili-*

tant Israel (New York, W. Morrow, 1984), pp. 184-86.

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4. State Dept., NEA/IAI: Feb. 8, 1967; confidential, declassified April 16, 1981.
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7. Donald Neff, *Warriors for Jerusalem: The Six Days that Changed the Middle East* (New York: Linden Press/ Simon & Schuster, 1984), p. 110.
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11. Stephen D. Isaacs, *Jews and American Politics* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1974), p. 83. Detailed information on Feinberg, including his aid to Israel's nuclear program, is in Seymour M. Hersh, *The Samson Option: Israel's Nuclear Arsenal and American Foreign Policy* (New York: Random House, 1991), pp. 93-111.
12. D. Neff, *Warriors for Jerusalem* (1984), pp. 83, 156-158.
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Lyndon Johnson

"Nothing could be more irrational than to give the people power and withhold from them information without which power is abused."

— James Madison

Russian Specialist Lays Bare Stalin's Plan to Conquer Europe

Icebreaker: Who Started the Second World War?, by Viktor Suvorov (Vladimir Rezun). London: Hamish Hamilton, 1990. Hardcover. Maps. Photos. Source references. Index.

Reviewed by Joseph Bishop

It sometimes happens that the most significant historical works are virtually ignored by the mainstream press, and consequently reach few readers. Such is the case with many revisionist studies, including this important work by a former Soviet military intelligence officer who defected to the West in 1978. Even before the appearance of this book, he had already established a solid reputation with the publication of five books, written under the pen name of Viktor Suvorov, on the inner workings of the Soviet military, and particularly its intelligence operations.

In *Icebreaker* Suvorov takes a close look at the origins and development of World War II in Europe, and in particular the background to Hitler's "Operation Barbarossa" attack against the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. Since its original publication in Russian (entitled *Ledokol*) in France in 1988, it has been published in an astonishing 87 editions in 18 languages. In spite of its importance to the historical record, *Icebreaker* has received very little attention in the United States. The few reviews that have appeared here have been almost entirely brief and dismissive — a shameful treatment that reflects the cowardice and intellectual irresponsibility of a "politically correct" scholarly establishment.

According to the conventional view, Hitler's perfidious attack abruptly forced a neutral and aloof Soviet Russia into war. This view further holds that a surprised Stalin had naively trusted the deceitful German *Führer*. Rejecting this view as political propaganda, Suvorov shows Stalin's personal responsibility for the war's outbreak and progression. Above all, this book details the vast Soviet preparations for an invasion of Europe in the summer of 1941 with the goal of Sovietizing central and western Europe. Suvorov is not alone in his view. It is also affirmed by a number of non-Russian historians, such as

American scholar R. H. S. Stolfi in his 1991 study *Hitler's Panzers East: World War II Reinterpreted* (reviewed by me in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*).

In spite of rigid Soviet censorship, Suvorov has succeeded in digging up many nuggets of valuable information from publicly available Soviet writings that confirm his central thesis. *Icebreaker* is based on the author's meticulous scouring of such published sources as memoirs of wartime Soviet military leaders, and histories of individual Soviet divisions, corps, armies, fleets, and air units.

'Second Imperialist War'

A central tenet of Soviet ideology was that the Soviet Union, as the world's first Marxist state and bulwark of "workers' power," would eventually liberate all of humanity from the yoke of capitalism and fascism (the "last resort of monopoly capitalism"). While Soviet leaders might disagree about the circumstances and timing of this process of global liberation, none doubted the importance of this objective. As Suvorov notes:

For Lenin, as for Marx, world revolution remained the guiding star, and he did not lose sight of this goal. But according to the minimum program, the First World War would only facilitate a revolution in one country. How, then, would the world revolution take place thereafter? Lenin gave a clear-cut answer to this question in 1916: as a result of the second imperialist war ...

Initially the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" was made up of only a handful of constituent republics. Lenin and the other Soviet leaders intended that more republics would be added to the USSR until it encompassed the entire globe. Thus, writes Suvorov, "the declaration accompanying the formation of the USSR was a *clear and direct declaration of war on the rest of the world*."

Hitler understood this much better than did the leaders of Britain, France or the United States. During a conversation in 1937 with Lord Halifax, one of Britain's most important officials, he said: "In the event of a general war [in Europe], only one country can win. That country is the Soviet Union." In *Icebreaker*, Suvorov explains how in 1939 Stalin exploited the long-simmering dispute between Germany and Poland over Danzig and the "Polish Cor-

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ridor" to provoke a "second imperialist war" that would enormously expand the Soviet empire.

Stalin anticipated a drawn-out war of attrition in which Germany, France and Britain would exhaust themselves in a devastating conflict that would also spark Communist uprisings across Europe. And as the Soviet premier expected, "Ice-breaker" Germany did indeed break up the established order in Europe. But along with nearly everyone else outside of Germany, he was astonished by the speed and thoroughness with which Hitler subdued not only Poland, but also France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Yugoslavia and Greece. Dashing Kremlin expectations that a "second imperialist war" would quickly usher in a Soviet Europe, by July 1940 Hitler was effectively master of the continent.

Soviet Preparations

Throughout history, every army has had a basic mission, one that requires corresponding preparations. An army whose mission is basically defensive is accordingly trained and equipped for defensive war. It heavily fortifies the country's frontier areas, and employs its units in echeloned depth. It builds defensive emplacements and obstacles, lays extensive minefields, and digs tank traps and ditches. Military vehicles, aircraft, weapons and equipment suitable for defending the country are designed, produced and supplied. Officers and troops are trained in defense tactics and counter-offensive operations.

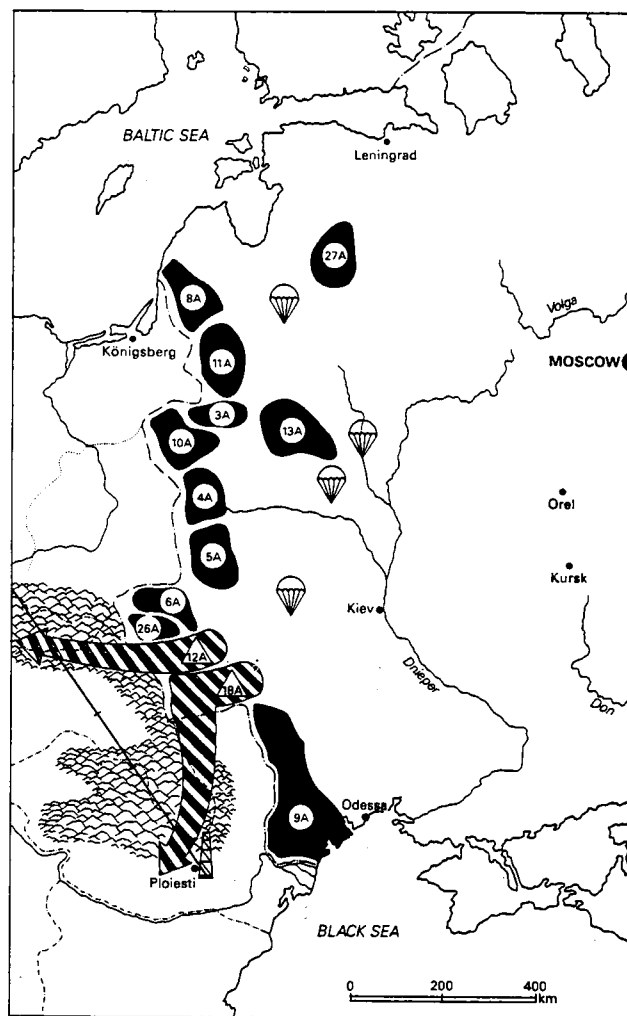
An army whose mission is aggressive war acts very differently. Officers and troops are trained for offensive operations. They are supplied with weapons and equipment designed for attack, and the frontier area is prepared accordingly. Troops and their materiel are massed close to the frontier, obstacles are removed, and minefields are cleared. Maps of the areas to be invaded are issued to officers, and the troops are briefed on terrain problems, how to deal with the population to be conquered, and so forth.

Carefully examining the equipping, training and deployment of Soviet forces, as well as the numbers and strengths of Soviet weaponry, vehicles, supplies and aircraft, Suvorov establishes in great detail that the Red Army was organized and deployed in the summer of 1941 for attack, not defense.

Peculiar Tanks

Germany entered war in 1939 with 3,195 tanks. As Suvorov points out, this was fewer than a single Soviet factory in Kharkov, operating on a "peace-time" basis, was turning out every six months.

By 1941 everyone recognized the tank as the primary weapon of an army of attack in a European



The Soviet armies of the First Strategic Echelon were deployed in mid-1941 to strike against Europe. Another seven armies in the rear were making their way to the frontier in preparation for the massive Soviet offensive.



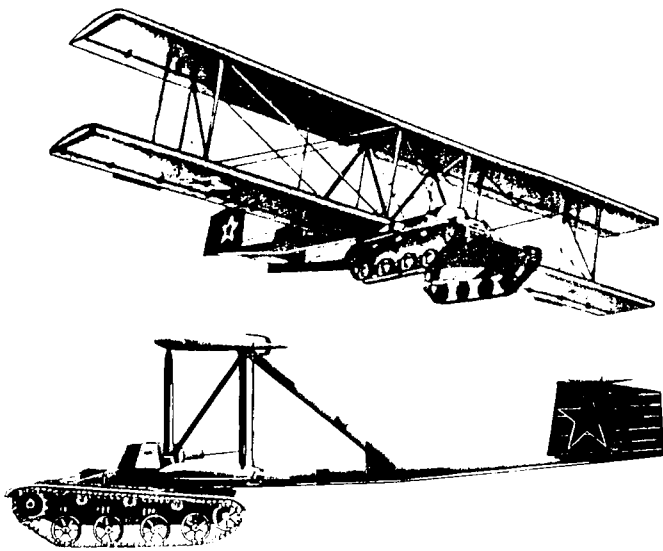
The Soviet 9th Army was concentrated not on the German border, but on the frontier with Romania. A 9th Army strike at Romania would quickly seize Germany's most important source of oil.



Two Soviet mountain armies were set to help cut off Germany's oil "jugular" and prevent the movement of German forces into Romania.



Deployment sites of the "first wave" Soviet airborne corps. Another five airborne corps were secretly being organized deep inside the Soviet Union.



The Soviet KT (A-40) winged tank. Upon landing, the wings and tail were quickly detached, making the tank immediately ready for battle. Suited only for offensive warfare, this remarkable weapon was rendered useless by Hitler's "Barbarossa" attack.

land war. During this period, Suvorov shows, the Soviets were producing large quantities of the well armed "Mark BT" tank, predecessor of the famed T34 model. "BT" were the initials for the Russian words "high speed tank." The first of this series had a top speed of 100 kilometers per hour, impressive even by today's standards. But as Suvorov goes on to note, this weapon had a peculiarity:

Having said so many positive things about the numbers and quality of Soviet tanks, one must note one minor drawback. It was impossible to use these tanks on Soviet territory ...

Mark BT tanks could only be used in an aggressive war, only in the rear of the enemy and only in a swift offensive operation, in which masses of tanks suddenly burst into enemy territory ...

The Mark BT tanks were quite powerless on Soviet territory. When Hitler began Operation Barbarossa, practically all the Mark BT tanks were cast aside. It was almost impossible to use them off the roads, even with caterpillar tracks. They were never used on wheels. The potential of these tanks was never realized, but it certainly could never have been realized on Soviet territory. The Mark BT was created to operate on foreign territory only and, what is more, only on territory where there were good roads ...

To the question, where could the enormous potential of these Mark BT tanks be successfully realized, there is only one answer: in central and southern Europe. The only territories

where tanks could be used, *after* their caterpillar tracks were removed, were Germany, France and Belgium ... Caterpillar tracks are only a means for reaching foreign territory. For instance, Poland could be crossed on caterpillar tracks which, once the German autobahns had been reached, could then be discarded in favor of wheels, on which operations would then proceed ...

It is said that Stalin's tanks were not ready for war. That was not so. They were not ready for a *defensive* war on their own territory. They were, however, designed to wage war on others.

Airborne Assault Corps

Similarly designed for offensive war are paratroops. This most aggressive form of infantry is employed primarily as an invasion force. Germany formed its first airborne assault units in 1936, and by 1939 had 4,000 paratroops. And the USSR? Suvorov explains:

By the beginning of the war [1939], the Soviet Union had *more than one million* trained paratroopers — 200 times more than all other countries in the world put together, including Germany.... It is quite impossible to use paratroopers in such massive numbers in a defensive war.... No country in history, or indeed all countries in the world put together, including the Soviet Union, has ever had so many paratroopers and air assault landing sub-units as Stalin had in 1941.

As part of the planned invasion, in early 1940 orders were given for large-scale construction of airborne assault gliders, which were produced in mass quantity from the spring of 1941 onward. The Soviets also designed and built the remarkable KT "winged tank." After landing, its wings and tailpiece were discarded, making the KT instantly ready for combat. The author also describes a variety of other offense-oriented units and weapons, and their deployment in June 1941 in areas and jumping-off points right on the frontiers with Germany and Romania. All these weapons of offensive war became instantly useless following the Barbarossa attack, when the Soviets suddenly required defensive weapons.

Suvorov tells of a secret meeting in December 1940 attended by Stalin and other Politburo members at which General Pavel Rychagov, deputy defense minister and commander of the Soviet air force, discussed the details of "special operations in the initial period of war." He spoke of the necessity of keeping the air force's preparations *secret* in order to "catch the whole of the enemy air force on the ground." Suvorov comments:

It is quite obvious that it is not possible to "catch

the whole of the enemy air force on the ground" in time of war. It is only possible to do so in peacetime, when the enemy does not suspect the danger.

Stalin created so many airborne troops that they could only be used in one situation: after a surprise attack by the Soviet air force on the airfields of the enemy. It would be simply impossible to use hundreds of thousands of airborne troops and thousands of transport aircraft and gliders in any other situation.

Suvorov also reports on the dismantling in June 1941 of the Soviet frontier defense systems, and the deployment there of masses of troops and armor poised for westward attack.

Stalin Preempted

During the period just prior to the planned Soviet invasion, the USSR's western military districts were ordered to deploy all 114 divisions, then stationed in the interior, to positions on the frontier. Thus, remarks Suvorov, June 13, 1941, "marks the beginning of the greatest displacement of troops in the history of civilization."

Such a massive buildup of forces directly on the frontier simply could not be kept secret. As Suvorov notes, Wilhelm Keitel, Field Marshal and Chief of Germany's armed forces High Command, spoke about the German fears during a postwar interrogation:

All the preparatory measures we took before spring 1941 were defensive measures against the contingency of a possible attack by the Red Army. Thus the entire war in the East, to a known degree, may be termed a preventive war ... We decided ... to forestall an attack by Soviet Russia and to destroy its armed forces with a surprise attack. By spring 1941, I had formed the definite opinion that the heavy buildup of Russian troops, and their attack on Germany which would follow, would place us, in both economic and strategic terms, in an exceptionally critical situation ... Our attack was the immediate consequence of this threat ...

In 1941, Admiral N. G. Kuznetsov was the Soviet Navy minister, as well as a member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. In his postwar memoirs, published in 1966, he recalled:

For me there is one thing beyond all argument — J. V. Stalin not only did not exclude the possibility of war with Hitler's Germany, on the contrary, he considered such a war ... inevitable ... J. V. Stalin made preparations for war ... wide and varied preparations — beginning on dates ... which he himself had selected. Hitler upset his calculations.



In early 1941 the Soviet Union had vastly more paratroops than all other countries combined. Parachutists, by their nature, can only be used in offensive operations.

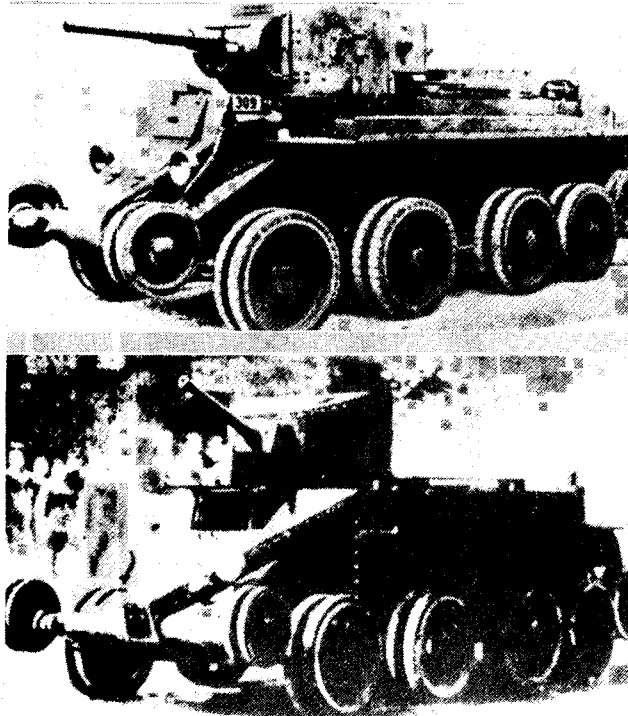
Suvorov comments:

The admiral is telling us quite clearly and openly that Stalin considered war inevitable and prepared himself seriously to enter it at a time of his own choosing. In other words, Stalin was preparing to strike the first blow, that is to commit aggression against Germany; but Hitler dealt a preventive blow first and thereby frustrated all Stalin's plans ...

Let us compare Keitel's words with those of Kuznetsov. Field Marshal Keitel said that Germany was not preparing an aggression against the Soviet Union; it was the Soviet Union which was preparing the aggression. Germany was simply using a preventive attack to defend itself from an unavoidable aggression. Kuznetsov says the same thing — yes, the Soviet Union was preparing for war and would inevitably have entered into it, but Hitler disrupted these plans with his attack. What I cannot understand is why Keitel was hanged [at Nuremberg], and Kuznetsov was not.

Suvorov believes that Hitler's preemptive strike came just two or three weeks before Stalin's own planned assault. Thus, as Wehrmacht forces smashed Soviet formations in the initial weeks of the "Barbarossa" attack, the Germans marveled at the great numbers of Soviet tanks and other materiel destroyed or captured — an enormous buildup sufficient not just for an assault on Germany, but for the conquest of all of Europe. Suvorov writes

Hitler decided that it was not worth his while waiting any longer. He was the first to go, without waiting for the blow of the "liberating" dagger to stab him in the back. He had begun the war in the most favorable conditions which could possibly have existed for an aggressor;



These Soviet tanks, with removable caterpillar tracks, were designed for use on German roads and highways. So equipped, they were of little use on Soviet territory, where few roads were paved.

but given the nature of Stalin's grand plan, he could never have won it. Even in the most unfavorable conditions, the Red Army was able to "liberate" half of Europe ...

As devastating as it was, Hitler's assault was not fatal. It came too late to be successful. "Even the Wehrmacht's surprise attack on the Soviet Union could no longer save Hitler and his empire," Suvorov writes. "Hitler understood where the greatest danger was coming from, but it was already too late." With great effort, the Soviets were able to recover from the shattering blow. Stalin succeeded in forming new armies to replace those lost in the second half of 1941.

As Suvorov repeatedly points out, the widely accepted image of World War II, and particularly of the roles of Stalin and Hitler in the conflict, simply does not accord with reality:

In the end ... Poland, for whose liberty the West had gone to war, ended up with none at all. On the contrary, she was handed over to Stalin, along with the whole of Eastern Europe, including a part of Germany. Even so, there are some people in the West who continue to believe that the West won the Second World War.

... Stalin became the absolute ruler of a vast

empire hostile to the West, which had been created with the help of the West. For all that, Stalin was able to preserve his reputation as naive and trusting, while Hitler went down in history as the ultimate aggressor. A multitude of books have been published in the West based on the idea that Stalin was not ready for war while Hitler was.

A Soviet Europe?

An intriguing historical "what if" is to speculate on the fate of Europe if Stalin, and not Hitler, had struck first. For example, a less rapidly successful German campaign in the Balkans in the spring of 1941 could have forced the postponement of Barbarossa by several weeks, which would have enabled Stalin to strike the first blow.

Could German forces have withstood an all-out Soviet assault, with tens of thousands of Soviet tanks and a million paratroopers? With the advantage of striking first, how quickly could Stalin have reached Berlin, Amsterdam, Brussels, Paris, Rome and Madrid? Suvorov writes:

It would be a mistake to underestimate the enormous strength and vast resources of Stalin's war machine. Despite its grievous losses, it had enough strength to withdraw and gather new strength to reach Berlin. How far would it have gone had it not sustained that massive blow on 22 June, if hundreds of aircraft and thousands of tanks had not been lost, had it been the Red Army and not the Wehrmacht which struck the first blow? Did the German Army have the territorial expanse behind it for withdrawal? Did it have the inexhaustible human resources, and the time, to restore its army after the first Soviet surprise attack?

Partially answering his own question, Suvorov states: "If Hitler had decided to launch Operation Barbarossa a few weeks later, the Red Army would have reached Berlin much earlier than 1945."

Suvorov even presents a hypothetical scenario of a Soviet invasion and occupation of Europe, replete with Stalinist terror and oppression:

The [Soviet] troops meet endless columns of prisoners. Dust rises on the horizon. There they are, the oppressors of the people — shopkeepers, bourgeois doctors and architects, farmers and bank employees. The Chekists' [NKVD] work will be hard. Prisoners are cursorily interrogated at every stopping place. Then the NKVD investigates each one in detail, and establishes the degree of his guilt before the working people. But by now it has become necessary to expose the most dangerous of the millions of prisoners: the former Social Democrats, pacifists, socialists and National Socialists,

former officers, policemen and ministers of religion.

Millions of prisoners have to be sent far away to the east and the north, in order to give them the opportunity, through honest labor, to expiate their guilt before the people ...

In Suvorov's scenario, a camp called Auschwitz is captured early on by the advancing Soviets. In response to the question, "Well, what was it like in Auschwitz, pal?" a Red Army man replies: "Nothing much, really' The worldly-wise soldier in his black jacket shrugs his shoulders. 'Just like at home. Only their climate is better'."

Actually, "what if" historical speculation is normally uncertain because key factors are often simply imponderable. In this case, one such factor is Soviet morale. While it is certainly true that Soviet troops fought bravely and tenaciously in 1941-1943 defending their home territory, they may not have fought with the same fervor and morale in an invasion of Europe. The tenacity and endurance shown by Red Army troops in Hungary and Germany in 1944 and 1945 is not necessarily indicative, because these soldiers were bitterly mindful of more than two years of savage fighting against the invaders, and of stern occupation, on their home territory.

Another imponderable is the response of Britain and the United States to an all-out Soviet invasion of Europe. If Soviet forces had struck westward in July 1941, would Britain and the United States have sided with Stalin and the USSR, or would they have sided with Hitler and Germany, Italy, France, Romania, Finland, Hungary, Denmark, and the rest of Europe? Or would Roosevelt and Churchill have decided to remain aloof from the great conflict?

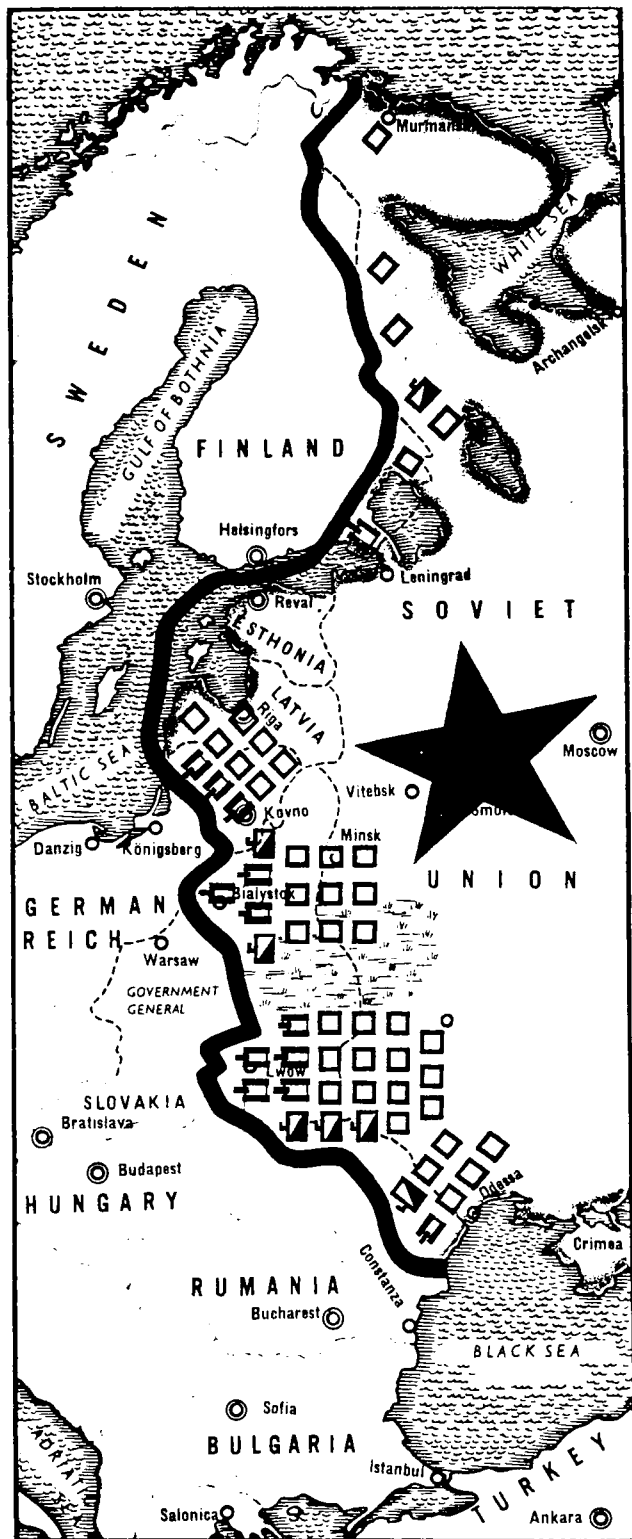
Anyway, when Hitler did launch his preemptive strike against Soviet Russia, Roosevelt and Churchill immediately sided with Stalin, and when the Red Army took half of Europe in 1944-45, neither the British nor the American leader objected.

What can now be stated with certainty — thanks to the work of Suvorov and other revisionist historians — is that in smashing the great Soviet military buildup in 1941, Hitler dashed Stalin's plan to quickly conquer Europe, and that, in spite of his defeat in 1945, Hitler saved at least the western half of Europe, and tens of millions of people, from the horrors of Soviet subjugation.

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By mid-June 1941, Stalin had concentrated enormous Red Army forces on the western Soviet border, poised for a devastating attack against Europe. This diagram appeared in the English-language edition of the German wartime illustrated magazine *Signal*.

Historian Details Stalin's Two-Year 'Mobilization' Plan for European Conquest

Der Tag M ("M Day"), by Viktor Suvorov (Vladimir B. Rezun). Translated from the Russian by Hans Jaeger. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1995. Hardcover. 356 pages. Photos. Source references. Bibliography. Index.

Reviewed by Daniel W. Michaels

When Hitler launched "Operation Barbarossa" against the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Germany's leaders justified the attack as a preemptive strike to forestall an imminent Soviet invasion of Germany and the rest of Europe. After the war, Germany's most prominent surviving military and political leaders were put to death at Nuremberg for, among other things, planning and waging "aggressive war" against the Soviet Union. The Nuremberg Tribunal rejected outright defendants' pleas that "Barbarossa" was a preventive attack.

In the decades since, historians, government officials, and standard reference works in the United States, Europe and the USSR accordingly have held that Hitler betrayed the trusting Soviet leaders to launch his treacherous surprise attack, motivated by greed for Russian and Ukrainian resources and "living space," and as part of a mad drive to "conquer the world."

In this well researched and powerfully argued study, a Russian-born specialist has presented abundant evidence that essentially affirms the German contention. Based primarily on a scrupulous analysis of the pertinent military and political literature, and the memoirs of prominent members of the Soviet military and Party elite, military analyst Suvorov has produced an important revisionist work that obliges a radical reevaluation of the long-accepted view of Second World War II history.

The author, whose real name is Vladimir Bogdanovich Rezun, was trained as a Soviet army officer in Kalinin and Kiev. Later, after staff level service and completing studies at the Diplomatic Military Academy in 1974, he served as a Soviet military intelligence (GRU) officer, working for four years in Geneva under diplomatic cover. He defected in 1978, and was granted diplomatic asylum in Britain.

His first work on this subject, *Icebreaker*, was

initially published in Russian (in France) in 1988, followed by editions in other languages, including English. It caused a sensation in the military and intelligence community, especially in Europe, because it carefully documents the offensive nature of the massive Soviet military buildup on the German border in 1941. In "M Day" Suvorov adds substantially to evidence and arguments presented in *Icebreaker*.

In making his case, Suvorov stresses here the central importance to Stalin's planning of military strategist Boris Shaposhnikov, Marshal and Chief of the General Staff. His most important work, *Mozg armii* ("The Brain of the Army"), was for decades required reading for every Soviet officer. Stalin not only respected Shaposhnikov's military acumen, but, uncharacteristically, personally liked the man. He was the only man Stalin was ever known to address routinely in public by his first and patronymic names (Boris Mikhailovich), in Russia a personal form of address, less than formal but definitely respectful. Stalin addressed everyone else by his family name preceded by Comrade ("Comrade Zhdanov," for example). Stalin's admiration was also shown by the fact that he always kept a copy of Shaposhnikov's *Mozg armii* on his desk.

Shaposhnikov's mobilization plan, faithfully implemented by Stalin, laid out a clear, logical, two-year program (August 1939-summer 1941) that would inexorably and purposefully culminate in war. According to Suvorov, Stalin announced his decision to implement this plan at a Politburo meeting on August 19, 1939, four days before the signing of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact. (It was also at this Politburo meeting, which came shortly after Stalin had concluded his draconian purges of military and political "unreliables," that the Soviet leader ordered General Georgi Zhukov to attack, and defeat, in classic *blitzkrieg* fashion, the Japanese Sixth Army at Khalkhin-Gol, Mongolia.)

Thirteen days after Stalin's speech, German troops struck against Poland, and two days after that — September 3, 1939 — Britain and France declared war on Germany.

Once Stalin decided to embark on this process of mobilization, the regime radically retooled the nation's economy, directing the enormous physical and human resources of the Soviet Union for war. By its nature, this all-encompassing process could be pursued only to its logical conclusion — war. Simply stated, Stalin's 1939 decision to mobilize inevitably meant war.

Daniel W. Michaels is a Columbia University graduate (Phi Beta Kappa, 1954), a Fulbright exchange student to Germany (1957), and recently retired from the US Department of Defense after 40 years of service.

Massive Buildup

In 1938 some 1,513,400 men were serving in the Red Army. This was about one percent of the Soviet population, which is generally considered the normal, economically sustainable, maximum ratio of men under arms to total population. As part of their two-year mobilization program, Stalin-Shaposhnikov more than doubled the number of men under arms — to more than five million.

During this period — August 1939 to June 1941 — Stalin raised 125 new infantry divisions, 30 new motorized divisions, and 61 tank and 79 air divisions — a total of 295 divisions organized in 16 armies. The Stalin-Shaposhnikov plan also called for mobilizing an *additional* six million men in the summer of 1941, to be distributed into still more infantry, tank, motorized and air divisions.

Between July 1939 and June 1941, Stalin increased the number of Soviet tank divisions from zero to 61, with dozens more in preparation. By June 1941, the “neutral” Soviet Union had assembled more tank divisions than all the other countries of the world put together — a mighty force that could be effectively employed only in offensive operations.

In June 1941 Hitler threw ten mechanized corps into battle, of which each, on average, had more than 340 light and medium tanks. By contrast, Stalin had 29 mechanized corps, each with 1,031 light, medium and *heavy* tanks. While it is true that not every Soviet corps was at full strength, a single Soviet mechanized corps was militarily stronger than two German corps put together.

When Hitler attacked Poland in September 1939, Germany had a total of six tank divisions. If this light tank force can be regarded as conclusive proof of Hitler’s intention to launch a war of world (or at least European) conquest, what — asks Suvorov — can we conclude from Stalin’s buildup of 61 tank divisions between late 1939 and mid-1941, and with further dozens in preparation?

In mid-1941, the Red Army was the only military force in the world with *amphibious* tanks. Stalin had 4,000 of these weapons of offensive war; Germany had none. By June 1941, the Soviets had increased the number of their paratroop corps from zero to five, and the number of their field artillery regiments from 144 to 341, in each case more than all the other armies of the world put together.

At the outbreak of war in September 1939, Germany had a fleet of 57 submarines, a fact that is sometimes cited as proof of Hitler’s aggressive intentions. But at that same time, Suvorov points out, the Soviet Union already had more than 165 submarines. These submarines, he notes, were not inferior vessels, but rather of standard quality. By June 1941, the Soviet navy had more than 218 sub-



Stalin with his most trusted military adviser, Boris Shaposhnikov. Together they worked out a two-year mobilization plan that was to culminate in an attack against Germany and the subjugation of Europe.

marines in service, with another 91 under construction. Stalin commanded the world’s largest submarine fleet, a force that was created for aggressive war.

A ‘World’ War?

As Suvorov points out, at the time of Hitler’s 1939 strike against Poland, no one in Germany or western Europe regarded this as the outbreak of a “world war.” Even the declarations of war against Germany by Britain and France two days later — on September 3, 1939 — did not make this a “world war.” It was only much later, looking back, that Germany’s Polish campaign came to be regarded as the start of the Second World War. Only in Moscow, writes Suvorov, was it understood right from the outset that a world war had begun.

Echoing the findings of such historians as A. J. P. Taylor and David Hoggan, Suvorov points out that Hitler neither wanted nor planned for a European-wide conflict in 1939. It was the British and French declarations of war against Germany that transformed a local conflict between Germany and Poland into a European-wide one.

Consequently, Hitler did not authorize the con-



Vladimir Rezun, a former Soviet military intelligence officer, wrote *Icebreaker* and several other books under the pen name of Viktor Suvorov.

version of his nation's economy to a war footing. Soviet GRU chief Ivan Proskurov accurately informed Stalin that German industry was not geared to full-scale war. In fact, Germany did not begin in earnest to put its economy on war footing until early 1942, two years after the Soviet Union. But whereas Soviet military and arms production reached a crescendo in the summer of 1941, Germany's did not peak until 1944 — three years too late.

Attack Plan

Suvorov presents overwhelming evidence to show that Stalin was preparing for a massive surprise attack against Germany, to be launched in the summer of 1941. (Suvorov believes the attack was set for July 6, 1941.) In preparation for this, the Soviets had deployed enormous forces right on the German frontier, including paratroops, together with airfields and large caches of weapons, ammunition, fuel and other supplies.

In April 1941 the Red Army ordered a massive

deployment of artillery pieces and ammunition production to the frontier, and their storage there *on the ground and in the open*. This alone, writes Suvorov, proves Stalin's intention to attack, because this weaponry and ammunition had to be used before the fall, when the annual rains would begin. Storing munitions in the open in 1941 meant that an attack had to come that same year. "Any other interpretation of this fact is not conceivable," he writes.

Suvorov sums up:

By studying the archive records and the publicly available publications, I came to the conclusion that the transport [in 1941] to the frontier of millions of boots, munitions, and spare parts, and the deployment of millions of soldiers, and thousands of tanks and airplanes, could not have been a mistake, or a miscalculation, but rather that it must have been the result of a thoughtful policy ...

This process had as its goal the preparation of industry, the transport system, agriculture, the state territory, the Soviet population, and the Red Army to carry out the war of "liberation" in central and western Europe.

In short, this process is called mobilization. It was a secret mobilization. The Soviet leadership prepared the Red Army and the entire country for the conquest of Germany and western Europe. The conquest of western Europe was the main reason that the Soviet Union unleashed the Second World War.

The final decision to start the war was taken by Stalin on August 19, 1939.

The Soviet attack plan, Suvorov explains, called for a strike on two major fronts: the first, west and northwest, into Germany proper, and the second, equally powerful, southwest into Romania to quickly seize the oil fields there.

Three main strategic echelons would carry out the invasion. The first echelon consisted of 16 invasion armies and several dozen corps and divisions for auxiliary thrusts, made up of professional Red Army men trained to smash through the German lines. The second strategic echelon, consisting of seven armies of inferior troops (including many Gulag prisoners), would secure and expand the breakthroughs of the first echelon. The third echelon, consisting of three armies made up mostly of NKVD troops, would secure the Soviet occupation. It would thwart any and all potential resistance by rounding up and killing Germany's social, political, and military elite — much as had already been done in the Baltic states and eastern Poland (as in the Katyn massacre).

As his main strike aircraft Stalin had settled on the "Ivanov" (one of Stalin's nicknames), later known as the Su-2, a highly effective attack bomber

plane that was produced and deployed in large numbers. Stalin ordered construction of more than 100,000 Su-2s, as well as the training of 150,000 pilots. Weighing four tons, the Su-2 had a top speed of 486 km/h, a range of 1200 km, and a bomb load capacity of 400-600 kg. Similar, but superior to the German JU-87 "Stuka" dive bomber, it strikingly resembled the Japanese Nakajima B-5N2, which was the main warplane used in the attack on Pearl Harbor.



Enormous numbers of Soviet troops were captured during the first months of Germany's "Barbarossa" offensive. Greatly contributing to the seizure of so many prisoners was the concentration of Soviet forces on the frontier in preparation for an invasion of Europe.

Hitler's Miscalculation

For decades establishment historians have held that Stalin naively trusted Hitler. This image of a trusting Stalin and a treacherous Hitler is widely and officially accepted in the United States and much of Europe. Suvorov mocks this view, and contends that, to the contrary, it was Hitler who fatally miscalculated Stalin's cunning, at least for some 15 months, by which time it was too late.

While Hitler succeeded in foiling Stalin's great invasion plan, the German leader fatally underestimated the magnitude and aggressiveness of the Soviet threat. Suvorov writes: "Hitler grasped that Stalin was preparing an invasion, but he failed properly to estimate the entire extent of Stalin's preparations ... Hitler was unclear about just how great and how close the danger was."

Historians, notes Suvorov, do not adequately explain why Hitler decided to attack the Soviet Union at a time when Britain was still not subdued, thus engaging Germany in a dangerous two-front war. They often simply refer to Hitler's lust for *Lebensraum* or "living space." Actually, the Russian author writes, "Stalin gave Hitler no alternative way out. The secret [Soviet] mobilization was of such an enormous dimension that it would have been difficult to ignore." Stalin's "secret mobilization had reached such an extent that it could no longer be disguised. For Hitler the only possibility left was a preventive strike. Hitler beat Stalin to it by two weeks." In short, given the situation, the only responsible recourse for the German leadership was to launch a preemptive strike.

Stalin did not need Churchill, Roosevelt or ace Soviet spy Richard Sorge to warn him of a possible German attack. He had already made his own preparations to deal with Germany. But in readying his forces for offensive war, Stalin did nothing for the country's defense.

The Germans, writes Suvorov, enjoyed the temporary advantage of surprise because they were able to position and launch their strike forces just two weeks before the Red Army was scheduled to attack, catching it completely off balance. The surprise was all the greater because Stalin did not believe the Germans would dare open a second front in the East while still engaged against the British. Also contributing to the spectacular initial German successes was the daring and professionalism of the German soldier.

As Suvorov writes:

The [Soviet] defeat at the outbreak of the war [June-September 1941] was due to the fact that the German Wehrmacht launched its surprise attack at just the moment when the Soviet artillery was being moved to the border, and together with it the corresponding supplies of munitions. The artillery was not prepared to deal with a defensive war, and on June 22 was not able to go on the offensive.

Because Germany lacked the natural resources to sustain a protracted war, Hitler could prevail only by completely subduing Russia within four

months — that is, before the onset of winter. In this he failed. During the summer and fall of 1941 Hitler shattered, but did not destroy the Soviet military machine. (As it was, the Germans were able to achieve stunning initial successes only by utilizing Soviet stores captured during those first few months.)

In "Operation Barbarossa," Hitler threw 17 tank divisions against the Soviets. After three months of fighting, only about a quarter of his tanks were left, while Stalin's factories were turning out not only many more tanks, but of generally higher quality.

During the first four months of the "Barbarossa" attack, Axis forces destroyed perhaps 75 percent of Stalin's war-making ability, thereby eliminating the immediate military threat to Europe. Between July and November 1941, German forces seized or overran 303 gunpowder, munitions and grenade factories, which annually produced 85 percent of the country's entire Soviet munitions production.

But as Suvorov points out, this was not enough: "Hitler's attack could no longer save Germany. Stalin not only had more tanks, artillery pieces and airplanes, more soldiers and officers, but Stalin had also already put his industry on a war economy basis and could produce weapons in whatever quantities he desired." On November 29, 1941, Reich Armaments Minister Fritz Todt informed Hitler that from an armaments and war economy point of view, Germany had already lost the war.

Stalin ultimately prevailed because a residual 25 percent of the giant Soviet war economy, including 15 percent of her munitions production — mostly from factories east of the Volga, in the Urals and in Siberia — remained intact. Thus, with just a fraction of her initial superpower strength, Stalin was still able to win the decisive battles of Stalin-grad, Kursk, and Berlin, and defeat the mighty forces of Germany (and her Axis allies). Also contributing substantially to the Soviet victory was the entry into the war of the United States, the substantial American aid, and, of course, the legendary stoic toughness of the Russian soldier.

Even though Hitler struck the first blow, at the end of the war Stalin controlled Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and eastern Germany.

Noting that Hitler repeatedly postponed the launch date of "Operation Barbarossa," Suvorov remarks:

Let us suppose that Hitler had postponed once more the attack against Stalin, and Stalin had struck the first blow on July 6, 1941 ... Let us try to imagine what would have happened if Hitler had delayed his attack so that he became victim to the devastating assault prepared by Stalin. In this case Stalin would have had not

just 15 percent of the production capacity of the Munitions Industry Commissariat, but 100 percent. In that case how would be Second World War have concluded?

In this situation, it is not unreasonable to suppose that by November-December 1941 Soviet forces would have reached the Atlantic, hoisting the red flag over Berlin, Paris, Amsterdam, Rome and Stockholm.

Uncovered Speech Text

Since the publication of "M Day," Russian scholars have dug up additional evidence from the former Soviet archives that further confirms the Suvorov thesis and obliges a radical rewriting of Second World War history.

While it is likely that many records have been removed and destroyed, some revealing papers are being unearthed. One of the most important of these long-suppressed documents is the complete text of Stalin's secret speech of August 19, 1939. For decades leading Soviet figures denied that Stalin ever delivered this address, even insisting that no Politburo meeting was held on that date. Others have dismissed this speech as a forgery.

Russian historian T. S. Bushuyeva found a version of the text among the secret files of the USSR Special Archives, and published it, together with commentary, in the prominent Russian journal *Novy Mir* (No. 12, 1994). German writer Wolfgang Strauss reports on this, and other recent findings by Russian historians, in the April 1996 issue of the German monthly *Nation und Europa*. To this reviewer's knowledge, no American historian has yet taken public notice of the speech text.

It should be kept in mind that this address was delivered just as Soviet officials were negotiating with British and French representatives about a possible military alliance with Britain and France, and as German and Soviet officials were discussing a possible non-aggression pact between their countries. Four days after this speech, German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop met with Stalin in the Kremlin to sign the Soviet-German non-aggression pact.

In this speech, Stalin declared:

The question of war or peace has entered a critical phase for us. If we conclude a mutual assistance pact with France and Great Britain, Germany will back off from Poland and seek a *modus vivendi* with the Western powers. War would be avoided, but down the road events could become dangerous for the USSR. If we accept Germany's proposal and conclude a non-aggression pact with her, she will of course invade Poland, and the intervention of France and England in that war would be unavoidable.

Western Europe would be subjected to serious upheavals and disorder. Under those conditions, we would have a great opportunity to stay out of the conflict, and we could plan the opportune time for us to enter the war.

The experience of the last 20 years has shown that in peacetime the Communist movement is never strong enough to seize power. The dictatorship of such a party will only become possible as the result of a major war.

Our choice is clear. We must accept the German proposal and politely send the Anglo-French mission home. Our immediate advantage will be to take Poland to the gates of Warsaw, as well as Ukrainian Galicia ...

Summing up, Wolfgang Strauss points out that Stalin strove for an all-European war, a war of exhaustion that would bring down Europe's states and system. Further, Stalin planned to enter the war on the ruins of "capitalist" Europe, and then dictate its Sovietization by military force. (The key term "*Sovietizatsia*" comes up repeatedly in his speech.)

While noting that this speech further confirms Stalin's aggressive intentions, the cautious Bushuyeva quotes Clausewitz to the effect that wars tend to assume their own directions and dimensions, regardless of what one side or the other might have planned or said.

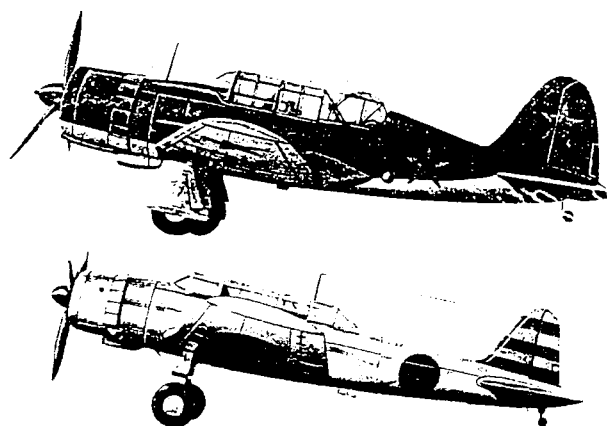
Painful History

In her *Novy Mir* article Bushuyeva writes of the pain that Russians must now endure in acknowledging that much of what they have believed for decades about the "Great Patriotic War" is wrong. She notes that of the young men born between the years 1922 and 1925, and who were sent to war by Stalin, only three out of a hundred survived the conflict. Writes Bushuyeva: "The entire depth of the tragedy that befell our five-million-man army in June 1941 must be plumbed. The evil that the rulers of the Soviet Union had planned for others suddenly, by some inscrutable fate, struck our own country."

It would be easy, Bushuyeva continues, to curse those who "are rewriting" history, and to continue to believe in the familiar contrived myths and symbols that appeal to our national pride — to the patriotism of the Russian people. "Yes, it would be possible to go on as before," she writes, "if it were not for one peculiar circumstance. Man is so constituted that the truth, however painful, is more important in the final analysis than the spurious bliss of living in lies and ignorance."

Suvorov likewise acknowledges that many Russians despise him for his revelations. He writes:

I have challenged the one sacred thing the Rus-



The Soviet "Ivanov" Su-2 attack bomber (above), produced in large numbers, was designed for surprise attack. It resembled the Japanese "Nakajima" B-5N2 (below), used in the attack on Pearl Harbor.

sian people still cling to — their memory of the "Great Patriotic War." I have sacrificed everything dear to me to write these books. It would have been intolerable to have died without telling the people what I have uncovered. Curse the books! Curse me! But even as you curse me try to understand.

Further Confirmation

Following the publication of Stalin's speech in *Novy Mir*, historians at Novosibirsk University undertook a major revisionist study of the immediate prewar situation. The results of this scholarly seminar were published in April 1995. Russian historian I. V. Pavlova, stated bluntly in her seminar contribution that for decades Communist Party historians worked to bury the background, origins and development of the Second World War, including Stalin's August 1939 speech, under a mountain of lies.

Another of the participating scholars, V. L. Doroshenko, said that the new evidence shows that "Stalin provoked and unleashed the Second World War." Suggesting that Stalin and his regime should have been on trial at Nuremberg, Doroshenko went on explain:

... Not just because Stalin helped Hitler but because it was in Stalin's own interests that the war begin. First, because of his general goal of seizing power in Europe, and, second, because of the immediate advantage of destroying Poland and taking over Galicia. But Stalin's most important motive was the war itself ... The collapse of the European order would have made it possible for him to establish his dictatorship [over all of Europe].

To this end, Stalin wanted for the time being to stay out of the war, but only with the intention of entering it at the most favorable moment. In other words, the nonaggression pact freed Hitler's hands and encouraged Germany to unleash a war [in Poland]. As Stalin signed the Pact, he was already determined to break it. Right from the outset he did not intend to stay out of the conflict but, to the contrary, to enter the war directly at the most advantageous moment.

Revisionist Breakthrough

One must marvel at the courage shown by such Russian historians in their willingness to come to grips with this very emotion-laden chapter of history. They show much greater forthrightness and open-mindedness in confronting taboos of 20th century history than do their counterparts in western Europe and the United States.

But there are exceptions. In recent years, a few Western historians have likewise affirmed this drastically revisionist view of Second World War history. These include German historian Max Klüver in his 1986 book, *Präventivschlag 1941* ("Preventive Strike"), and Austrian scholar Ernst

Topitsch in *Stalins Krieg*, published in English in 1987 by St. Martin's Press as *Stalin's War*. American historian R. H. S. Stolfi echoes Suvorov's views in his 1991 book, *Hitler's Panzers East: World War II Reinterpreted* (reviewed in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*), and German historian Dr. Joachim Hoffmann has added considerably to the discussion with his impressively researched 1995 study, *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg 1941-1945* ("Stalin's War of Annihilation").

In the view of Wolfgang Strauss, the new revelations about Stalin's long-suppressed speech, and the treatment of this issue by younger Russian historians, constitute a victory for European revisionism and represent a major shift in historical research. Meanwhile, Suvorov and other historians continue to track down historical evidence. In addition to archival digging, Suvorov reports that, in response to *Icebreaker* and "M Day," Soviet and German veterans of World War II have written to offer further evidence in support of his thesis. He bolsters his case in a third book, "The Last Republic," recently published in Russian, and in a fourth, still unpublished volume on this subject.



Jailed in 'Democratic' Germany: The Ordeal of an American Writer New!

A courageous German-American civil rights activist tells the full, inside story of his arrest in Germany in August

1995, and five months' imprisonment, for remarks he made in letters and periodicals written in and sent from the United States. German authorities jailed the outspoken 68-year-old publicist because his references to the "Holocaust tale" and the "Jew-infested" German political system were judged to be insulting to Jews, and thus a violation of the country's selectively enforced "popular incitement" law. Although he is a naturalized American citizen, the US State Department refused to protest his arrest.

Written in an engagingly upbeat style, with an eye for the telling anecdote, Hans Schmidt recounts his legal struggle and the rigors of his imprisonment, and provides valuable insights and commentary on post-war Germany's subservience to powerful supra-national forces. This protest against totalitarian injustice is a devastating indictment of Germany's blatant double standard on democratic rights, as well as an eloquent plea for free speech and truthful, revisionist awareness of history.

Jailed in 'Democratic' Germany

by Hans Schmidt

Softcover. 490 pages. Notes. Index. (#0432)

\$19.50, plus \$2.50 shipping

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Exonerating Pearl Harbor's Scapegoats

Scapegoats: A Defense of Kimmel and Short at Pearl Harbor, by Edward L. Beach. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1995. Hardcover. 225 pages. Eleven photographs. Bibliographical references essay. Index.

Reviewed by John Weir

Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on Sunday morning, December 7, 1941, inflicted one of the worst blows ever endured by American military forces. During the two-hour raid, Japanese warplanes sunk or seriously damaged 16 major US naval vessels, including six battleships, and killed 2,400 American servicemen. The next day, in an often-quoted address that reflected the national mood, President Franklin Roosevelt spoke of "a date which will live in infamy."

Angry Americans wanted to know why their Pacific fleet was caught by surprise, and who was responsible for the woeful lack of preparedness. In the rush to fix blame, attention naturally turned to the two men who were responsible for Pearl Harbor base security: Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, the ranking US Navy commander in Hawaii, and his Army counterpart, Lt. General Walter C. Short.

Formal investigations found that Kimmel and Short had been seriously derelict in their duties, and responsible for the lack of preparedness. The two were stripped of their commands, and sent into the wilderness of an early retirement at lower rank.

Until his death in 1968, Kimmel worked hard to clear his name, an effort that others, including his son and grandson, have carried on to this day. For example, in October 1990, the officers and trustees of the US Naval Academy Alumni Association at Annapolis unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the Navy to posthumously restore Kimmel's rank as four-star Admiral. This rehabilitation effort also includes this book, written by retired US Navy Captain Edward Beach.

A scapegoat, the book of Leviticus tells us, is a goat upon whom the sins of the people are placed before being driven into the wilderness. In an interview shortly before his death, Kimmel said: "They made me the scapegoat. They wanted to get the United States into the war." Asked just whom he meant by "they," he named President Roosevelt, US Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall, and "others

in the Washington high command." Kimmel continued:

FDR was the architect of the whole business. He gave orders — and I can't prove this categorically — that no word about Japanese fleet movements was to be sent to Pearl Harbor except by Marshall, and then he told Marshall not to send anything.

Meanwhile, others have continued to defend the official line. In a much-discussed work published in 1992, *Pearl Harbor: Final Judgement*, Henry C. Clausen (with co-author Bruce Lee) acknowledged that Washington had ample warning of an imminent Japanese attack, but contends that the information passed on to Kimmel and Short should have sufficed to motivate them to take defensive measures. [Dr. James J. Martin reviewed this book in the Jan.-Feb. 1995 *Journal*.] "The debacle at Pearl Harbor was the result of Short's and Kimmel's being asleep at the switch," concludes Clausen.

As its title indicates, *Scapegoats* was written with the goal of exonerating Kimmel and Short. Author Edward Beach tries to show why the Pearl Harbor naval base was unprepared for the Japanese attack, and who was to blame for the Pacific Fleet's lack of readiness. More specifically, Beach presents strong evidence to show that Kimmel and Short were unjustly blamed for the misdeeds of Roosevelt, Marshall and other higher-ups in the US military command.

Little of this book is really new. Most of the facts and arguments laid out here have already been presented, often more clearly and persuasively, in works — often cited by Beach — by earlier revisionist historians. (See, for example, *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*, an outstanding anthology edited by Harry Elmer Barnes [softcover IHR edition available from the IHR for \$11.75 postpaid].)

Indeed, Beach openly acknowledges his debt to such works as *The Pacific War*, by British historian John Costello, and *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War*, the still unsurpassed study by George Morgenstern. [A handsome IHR softcover edition, with a special introduction by James J. Martin, is available for \$11.45 postpaid.]

Much of the ground covered by Beach has also been covered in issues of this *Journal*. These include the special Winter 1983-84 "Pearl Harbor" issue, which contains seven essays by Percy L. Greaves, Jr., chief of the minority research staff of the 1945-46 Congressional investigation of the Pearl Harbor attack, along with an essay by James J. Martin, "Where Was General Marshall?" Three of the most

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Admiral H. E. Kimmel during a relaxed moment, prior to his appointment as commander of the US Pacific fleet.

important books on this subject — *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath* by John Toland, *The Pacific War* by John Costello, and *At Dawn We Slept* by Gordon W. Prange — are reviewed by Greaves in the Fall 1982 issue of this *Journal*. Charles Lutten provided a lucid, detailed overview of the debate in “Pearl Harbor: Fifty Years of Controversy,” in the Winter 1991-92 *Journal*. Also noteworthy is Roger Stolley’s essay, “Pearl Harbor No Surprise,” in the Spring 1992 *Journal*.

Inadequate Defense

As Beach explains in this book, Roosevelt decided in 1940 that American forces in the Philippines, and not at Pearl Harbor, were the most likely target of a possible Japanese attack. As a result, Washington neglected to supply the Hawaii base with the requisite new, long-range patrol aircraft and spare parts. This failure adequately to supply Pearl Harbor is a very important factor in consider-

ing the single most important accusation leveled against Kimmel and Short: that having been informed that north was the most likely direction of a possible Japanese attack, they nevertheless failed to set up a sustained air patrol to spot any approaching enemy strike force.

A detailed article in the December 1994 issue of the *Proceedings* of the US Naval Institute (cited by Beach) authoritatively exonerates Kimmel of this specific charge. Entitled “Reopen the Kimmel Case,” it is written by Dr. Michael Gannon, professor of history at the University of Florida. Gannon also points out that an effective reconnaissance patrol over a protracted period, with a complete, 360-degree surveillance sweep, would have required a fleet of 250 operational aircraft. But during the first week of December 1941, only 49 such patrol aircraft were available. Adequate crews, spare parts, and experienced aviation machinists were likewise not available. Although Kimmel had been promised delivery of 100 new PBV-1 Catalina aircraft for surveillance, these were never delivered, and Hawaii was left without the means to sustain an effective air patrol.

‘Magic’ Intercepts

Washington’s most egregious failure with regard to the forces in Hawaii was in neglecting to pass on vital intelligence information to Kimmel and Short. Because the Washington high command no longer gave the highest priority to Pearl Harbor as a possible Japanese target, and (according to Beach) because Washington feared compromising the source of its intelligence intercepts, known as “Magic,” Washington failed to supply the Hawaii commanders with the intelligence that would have sufficiently alerted them to the strong likelihood of an impending attack.

For some time prior to December 1941, US cryptographers had broken Japan’s diplomatic code, and high-level administration officials were routinely reading all confidential communications between Tokyo and Japanese embassies in Washington and elsewhere. During the weeks prior to the Pearl Harbor attack, US officials decrypted several Japanese messages that indicated an imminent outbreak of war with the United States and Britain.

These included a secret message sent by Tokyo to the Japanese ambassador in Berlin on November 30, 1941. He was told to meet immediately with Hitler and Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop, and in confidence to inform them:

Say to them [Hitler and Ribbentrop] that lately England the United States have taken a provocative attitude, both of them. Say that they are planning to move military forces into various places in East Asia and that we will inevitably

have to counter by also moving troops. Say very secretly to them that there is extreme danger that war may suddenly break out between the Anglo-Saxon nations and Japan through some clash of arms and add that the time of the breaking out of this war may come quicker than anyone dreams.

On the evening of December 3, the US Navy Department in Washington intercepted Tokyo's coded "winds execute" message, which informed its embassies that Japan would soon be at war against the United States and Britain.

By December 6th at the latest, US officials had enough information to indicate Pearl Harbor was the likely target of an impending Japanese attack. For one thing, Washington knew on the 6th that Japan's envoy in Washington was ordered to deliver his final message to US Secretary of State Hull at 1:00 p.m., Washington time — which coincided with dawn in Hawaii.

During a 1944 naval inquiry, Captain Laurance Safford, the leading cryptologist responsible for decoding intercepted Japanese messages, courageously testified on what he and his office knew:

On December 1, we had definite information from three independent sources that Japan was going to attack Britain and the United States ...

On December 4, 1941, we received definite information from two more independent sources that Japan would attack the United States and Britain, but would maintain peace with Russia. At 9:00 p.m. (Washington time), December 6, 1941, we received positive information that Japan would declare war against the United States, at a time to be specified thereafter. This information was positive and unmistakable and was made available to Military [US Army] Intelligence at this same time. Finally at 10:15 a.m. (Washington time), December 7, 1941 [about 5:00 a.m. Hawaii time], we received positive information ... that the Japanese declaration of war would be presented to the Secretary of State at 1:00 p.m. (Washington time) that date.

All decoded messages, Safford explained, were promptly passed on to the President and other key civilian and military personnel. Yet both Kimmel and Short were kept in the dark about the most pertinent of these messages. The responsibility for failing to pass along this critically important information to the Hawaii commanders, Beach writes, belonged to Admiral Harold Stack, General George Marshall, and Vice Admiral Richmond Turner.

As Beach points out, the real value of intelligence is measured only by its utility. Paralysis based on fear of losing a valuable source of informa-



Lt. Gen. Walter C. Short, commanding general of the US Army's Hawaiian Department.

tion only makes the data derived therefrom worthless.

Beach and other historians believe that at a secret, late-night White House meeting on the evening before the Pearl Harbor attack, President Roosevelt was informed of the most recently intercepted Japanese communication. A Navy officer who was present later testified that upon reading it, Roosevelt exclaimed "This means war!" Beach contends that it was fear of exposing "Magic" that explains Roosevelt's failure to immediately alert Kimmel, Short and other appropriate officials, and even to deny that this late-night White House meeting ever took place.

Just one hour and seven minutes before Japanese bombs began falling on Pearl Harbor, an important telegram by General Marshall was dispatched to General Short in Hawaii. It read:

JAPANESE ARE PRESENTING AT ONE PM EASTERN STANDARD TIME TODAY WHAT AMOUNTS TO AN ULTIMATUM ALSO THEY ARE UNDER ORDERS TO DESTROY THEIR CODE MACHINE IMMEDIATELY STOP JUST WHAT SIGNIFICANCE THE HOUR SET MAY HAVE WE DO NOT KNOW BUT BE ON ALERT ACCORDINGLY STOP INFORM NAVAL AUTHORITIES OF THIS COMMUNICATION MARSHALL



Secretary of War Henry Stimson speaks with Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall.

Marshall could have used a trans-Pacific telephone to make sure that Hawaii learned instantly of this momentous news, but this was not done. Instead, this message was sent by regular commercial radio telegraph, and was not received by Short and Kimmel until after the Japanese attack.

In his 1955 book, *Admiral Kimmel's Story*, Husband Kimmel summed up his view of the situation:

The deficiencies of Pearl Harbor as a fleet base were well known in the Navy Department. In an interview with Mr. Roosevelt in June 1941, in Washington, I outlined the weaknesses and concluded with the remark that the only answer was to have the fleet at sea if the Japs ever attacked.

I accepted the decision to base the fleet at Pearl Harbor in the firm belief that the Navy Department would supply me promptly with all pertinent information available and in particular with all information that indicated an attack on the fleet at Pearl Harbor.

... The Navy Department thus engaged in a course of conduct which definitely gave me the impression that intelligence from important intercepted Japanese messages ["Magic"] was being furnished to me. Under these circumstances a failure to send me important information of this character was not merely a withholding of intelligence. It amounted to an affirmative misrepresentation.

... Yet, in fact, the most vital information from the intercepted Japanese messages was withheld from me. This failure not only deprived me of essential facts. It misled me.

I was not supplied with any information of the intercepted messages showing that the Japanese government had divided Pearl Harbor

into five areas and was seeking minute berthing information as to the berthing of ships of the fleet in those areas, which was vitally significant.

'Second Class Revisionist'

In a much discussed, and much criticized, 1982 study, *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath* [soft-cover edition available from the IHR for \$10.00 postpaid], historian John Toland laid out evidence for his thesis that President Roosevelt fully anticipated Japan's attack, and intentionally withheld this vital information from Kimmel and Short in the expectation that a devastating Japanese attack in Hawaii would bring the United States decisively and irrevocably into war. This is also the view that Kimmel himself came to hold. In a 1958 interview (published in the Winter 1991-92 *Journal*), he stated:

My belief is that General Short and I were not given the information available in Washington and were not informed of the impending attack because it was feared that action in Hawaii might deter the Japanese from making the attack. Our president had repeatedly assured the American people that the United States would not enter the war unless we were attacked. The Japanese attack on the fleet would put the United States in the war with the full support of the American public.

Oddly, Beach does not accept the view of the man he seeks to exonerate, and even dismisses Toland's thesis as "off the wall."

Discussing the current state of the debate about Pearl Harbor and its background, Beach writes:

There is today a great need for historical reappraisal, even at the risk of being labeled a "revisionist." This word is so often used as a pejorative that some historians have developed knee-jerk reactions whenever they hear it, and any suggestion of revisionist thinking causes those advocating a thoughtful approach to become defensive.

To be a "revisionist" these days means that one believes Roosevelt deliberately exposed our fleet at Pearl Harbor to "lure the Japanese to attack," had full knowledge of the approach of the six-carrier task force across the north Pacific for that purpose, and refrained from alerting our forces in Hawaii in order that Japan's "first blow" would be so devastating that it would coalesce our entire national political spectrum into support for entry into the war. While this approximates the facts of what happened, there is no proof that it was intentional or deliberate on his part.

The author of these pages will admit to

being what might be called a "second-class revisionist" in that he feels that Roosevelt was convinced by mid-1941 of the necessity of our entry into the war and did all he could to bring it about ...

Roosevelt's Push for War

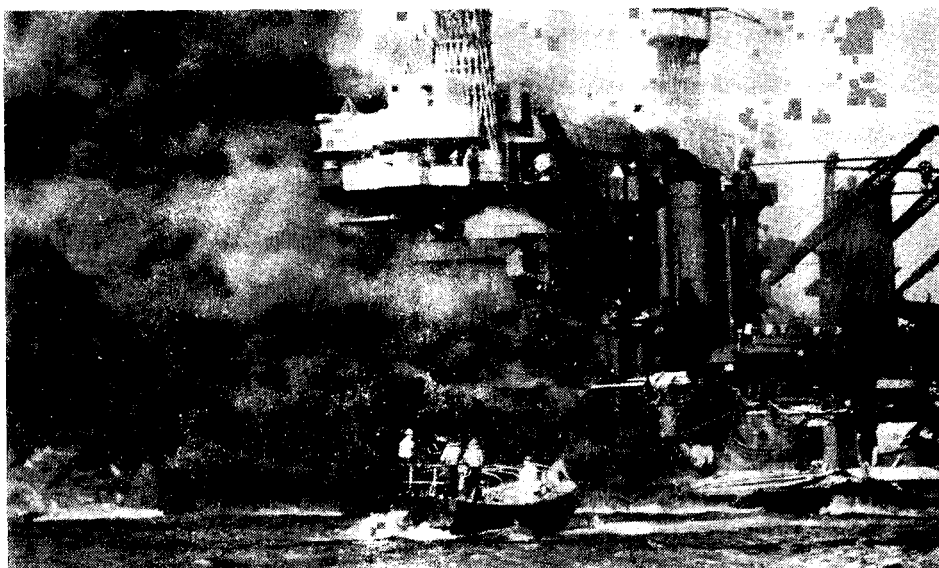
Perhaps reluctant to confront the issue of Roosevelt's role and responsibility, Beach keeps his book focused on the responsibility of Kimmel and Short for the Pearl Harbor debacle, and therefore does not dwell on the larger issue of Roosevelt's campaign to involve the United States in war with Japan and Germany. This is regrettable, because US policy toward Japan in the period before prior to Pearl Harbor attack must be considered in determining the culpability of these two commanders.

Prior to the Pearl Harbor attack, popular sentiment against American involvement in the European and Asian wars was so strong that Roosevelt resorted to deceit and outright lies in his campaign from mid-1939 to December 1941 to bring the US into war.

Against Japan, he applied increasingly severe pressure. In September 1940 Roosevelt imposed an embargo on all US exports of scrap iron and steel to the country. On July 26, 1941, he ordered a freeze on all Japanese assets in the United States, which ended trade between the two countries. This was a severe blow to Japan, which depended heavily on the US for its scrap steel, and oil and petroleum products. Roosevelt's order, which amounted to an economic declaration of war, threatened Japan's survival as a developed, industrialized nation.

Also in July 1941, the President secretly authorized devastating American bombing raids against Japanese cities. Roosevelt and his top military advisers approved a daring plan to use American pilots and American war planes, deceitfully flying under the Chinese flag, to bomb Japan's major cities. (See "Roosevelt's Secret Prewar Plan to Bomb Japan," Winter 1991-92 *Journal*.)

On November 26, 1941, Secretary of State Hull handed the Japanese ambassador in Washington a ten-point memorandum that bluntly spelled out the US government's stern policy toward Japan. The core of this virtual ultimatum was a demand that



Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, December 7, 1941: A rescue launch approaches the badly crippled battleship "West Virginia" to pick up survivors.

Japan "withdraw all military, naval, air and police forces from China and from Indochina."

It was this paper that convinced the Tokyo leadership that further discussions with the US were pointless, and that Japan now had no choice but resort to arms. With the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the "back door to war," Roosevelt attained the goal for which he had been striving so ardently for more than two years. (For an authoritative summary of Japan's view of the background to Pearl Harbor, see "Hideki Tojo's Prison Diary," in the Spring 1992 *Journal*. See also *A Time for War: Franklin Roosevelt and the Path to Pearl Harbor*, by Robert Smith Thompson, reviewed by Joseph Bishop in the March-April 1996 *Journal*.)

Beach expresses approval of, or at least understanding for, Roosevelt's artful campaign to maneuver Japan into striking the first blow. At the same time, though, he derides the President for his failure to fully prepare for this conflict, thus leaving US forces in the Pacific unprepared. That is, Roosevelt was guilty of not letting his military hand know what his diplomatic hand was doing. If he worked for and anticipated war with Japan, he should simultaneously have fortified US forces in Hawaii and the Philippines to make them fully prepared for attack. This lack of consistency or coordination resulted in the unforgivable sacrifice of thousands of men in the initial Japanese onslaught. It is only within this context that one can fairly assess the guilt of Kimmel and Short, if any.

Beach makes an interesting comparison between the ignominious post-1941 fates of Kimmel and Short, and the celebrated post-1941 career of Douglas MacArthur, who commanded American

forces in the Philippines in December 1941. Although Washington provided MacArthur with warnings of a possible Japanese attack that were at least as clear as those given the commanders in Hawaii, he was no better prepared for a Japanese assault. MacArthur's forces were devastated by Japanese raids much as those under the command of Kimmel and Short.

But instead of ignominy and early forced retirement, MacArthur — in contrast to Kimmel and Short — was promoted, and went on to an acclaimed wartime career that secured a legendary place in history. So blame was not only misdirected, it was also (as Beach points out) inconsistently assigned. A factor that may have contributed to protecting MacArthur's reputation, Beach notes parenthetically, is the fact that MacArthur, along with his boss, General Marshall, were both 32nd degree Freemasons.

Confronting a Powerful Myth

In trying explain why Kimmel and Short still remain scapegoats, even after more than half a century, Beach writes:

Were the awesome personalities of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Gen. George C. Marshall not involved, it is my conviction that the events leading to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor would long since have been seen in their true light. The blame leveled, in the heat of that tragic day, upon our two unfortunate commanders there would no longer be part of the historical record.

But this assessment misses the mark. What's at stake here is much greater than these two "awesome personalities." Roosevelt and Marshall are regarded as "awesome" above all because of the roles they played during World War II — the conflict by which America attained its superpower status. An important pillar of America's mythical self-image as a righteous superpower is the Pearl Harbor legend that the United States was minding its own business until the mad Japanese launched their unprovoked attack, dragging reluctant Americans into a terrible world war, and thereby obliging the United States to shoulder "international responsibilities" as world judge, philanthropist and policeman.

A broader understanding of the background to the Pearl Harbor attack, and especially President Roosevelt's secretive and unlawful efforts to provoke war, would go far toward shattering this popular legend — an issue that, regrettably, Beach does not adequately address. For as long as the myth of the United States as the reluctant geopolitical messiah endures, Americans will resist viewing this century's history with candor, and Kimmel and Short will remain scapegoats.

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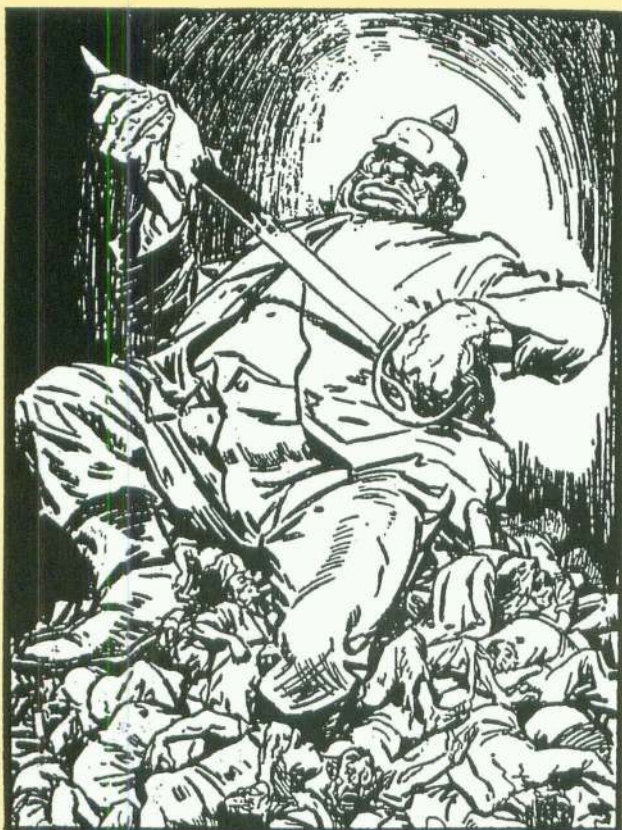
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